

THE *6<sup>th</sup> Ed*  
Secret History  
OF  
EUROPE.

SHEWING

That the late Greatness of the *French* Power was never so much owing to the Number or Goodness of their Troops, and the Conduct of their Ministry at Home, as to the Treachery and Corruption of the Ministers Abroad.

Giving a Full Account

Of the Insincerity of *England, Sweden, and Holland*, in the Triple League.

Of the *Sieur De Viri's* Correspondence with *France*, and his Murder by the Rabble.

Of the Close Alliance between *Charles II. and Lewis XIV.*

Of the Poisoning of *Madam*.

Of the Intrigues of *Mr. M——* Ambassador in *France*, and the *E. of D. T——* in *England*.

AND

Of the Secret Treaty between King *James*, and the *French King*.

The whole Collected from Authentick MEMOIRS, as well Manuscript as Printed.

L O N D O N :

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# Secret History of Europe

SHOWING



That the late greatness of the French Power  
was never so great as the Number  
of Goodness of the French King  
but of the French King's  
Treasury and of the French King's  
A broad

Of the Influence of the French King's  
Triple League  
Of the Secret Treaty of Alliance  
his Majesty's Affairs  
Of the Close Alliance between Louis XIV.  
and the Pope  
Of the Poisoning of the French King  
Of the Intrigues of Mr. M.  
the E. of D. T. in France

A N D  
Of the Secret Treaty between King James II.  
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# PREFACE

**T**HE General good Reception that Dr. Welwood's *Memoirs* met with, made me put these Observations on several Parts of our own History, and that of EUROPE, into the following Method, that by reviving some past Facts, the surer Judgment might be made of the Future. These are not pretended to be such Anecdotes, as are no where else to be met with, nor were Dr. Welwood's of that kind; but most of them are like his, in separate Pieces, and some of very different Natures, which probably would never have fallen into the Hands of one Man, at least he would not have made the same use of them, which these are intended for, they being no where put in so proper a Light. The Design will, we hope, presently

## The P R E F A C E.

*ly appear to have been Honest, and prosecuted with no other View, than to call to our Remembrance what the Men were, and what the Principles, that brought Europe to the Brink of Slavery, by advancing the Power of France? What were the dreadful Effects of Faction and Corruption in England, Holland, and other Nations, when the French King had by his Artifices, engag'd Parties there in his Interest, which is a sufficient warning to Us and our Posterity, to trust none such again, but beware of the same Wicked Practices, and not hearken to the Delusion of France, especially now it is in our Power to render them for the future useless, by reducing her to such Limits, as she may be afraid to transgress.*

*The Facts, and the Occasional Reflections, will save the Trouble of a large Preface. I should have observ'd, what particular Reasons I had to distinguish these Events from others in the same Period, but I believe they are so plain, that to mention them, would be thought Impertinence.*

N B. The Absence of the Author from the Press, while these Sheets were Printing, has occasion'd some Errors, which being of no great Importance, he desires the Generous Reader to excuse and amend them.



THE  
Secret History  
OF  
EUROPE, &c.

ALL *Europe*, Twenty Years since, were justly alarm'd at the Greatness of the *French* Power, which occasion'd the forming a Mighty Alliance to reduce it to the Condition 'tis at present in. Those who reason'd on that Prodigious Greatness, deriv'd the Rise and Growth of it sometimes from the Situation and Advantages of *France*, sometimes from the Number and Valour of her Troops, and sometimes from the Ambition of the Prince, confirm'd by the Councils of Two of the greatest Ministers the World ever produc'd, *Richieu* and *Mazarin*, who succeeding one another, maintain'd a steady Designing Ministry above Thirty Years, which is sufficient to extend

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### *The Secret History*

tend the Glory of any Monarchy much less of so powerful a one.

In a Nation where there is an *Eternal Fluctuation of Councils*, as *De Wit* said of *England*, nothing can be expected but Shame and Confusion. This Fluctuation is observ'd to have prevail'd only since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and most of all in the Reign of King *Charles II.* The same *De Wit* speaking of the Ministry then in *England*, express'd himself thus: *I know not the present Ministry, and can say nothing to them; but a great deal might be said of your uncertain Conduct since the Restoration*, he added, *that this Uncertainty seem'd fatal to our Constitution; he wou'd not judge from what Grounds.* ¶ *Mais que depuis le temps de "la Reyne Elisabet, il ny avoit eu qu'une "Fluctuation perpetuelle en la conduit "del' Angleterre, avec laquelle on ne "pouvoit Jamais prendre de mesures pour "deux Annees de Temp."* Since the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* there has been nothing but a perpetual Fluctuation in the Conduct of *England*, and Measures are not to be taken with us for Two Years together; which he took notice of more than once. And if our Councils are now more constant and certain, I am at a loss what Instances to give of it. The Prince of *Orange* said to Sir *William Temple*, in a Conversation with him on this Subject, *Was ever any thing so hot and so cold as this Court of Fears? Will the King, that is so often at Sea, never learn a Word that I shall never forget since my last Passage? When in a great Storm the Captain was all Night crying out to the Min*

at the *Helms Seedy, Seedy, Seedy*. This Steddiness has been always in the Administration of *France*, from the Fatal Era that our Inconstancy commenc'd. The Three last Kings have persu'd one Point, and by the same Methods aggrandiz'd the Monarchy; but neither the Strength of their Army, the Wisdom of their Councils, or the Certainty of their Conduct, cou'd have rais'd the *French* Power to such a height, had they not met with a general Corruption in all the Courts of *Europe* that shou'd have given a Check to it. The only Powers that seem'd to be in a Condition to keep the ballance even in the Empire of Christendom, between the Two Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, were *England*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*; and these were united to that purpose in the Famous *Tripple League*: But it was a dissembled Union, and all the Ministers of the Three Nations, who had the Conduct of it, were in the *French* Interest, as well in *Holland* as in *England* and *Sweden*. The general good Character that Monsieur *De Wit* had for love to his Country, and his great Capacity for Government will render any Attempt to lessen it disagreeable to most Readers, but I only desire their Patience till they have perus'd the following Pages, and if it does not then appear that the Pensionary of *Holland* was a Pensioner of *France*, I shall deservedly incur the Censure of Injuring one of the greatest Reputations that History can furnish us with. The View I had in looking farther into the Affairs of *Europe*, at this

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Juncture,



Juncture, than the common Annals, was to see by what Methods it was that *France* acquir'd the Power she has now lost, that they might be known and avoided in our future Conduct; and that we might never run into the same Errors again, or be fond of a Nation that has been Fifty Years corrupting the Manners and Politicks of all others with which she has had any Commerce, so long has she look'd with a covetous Eye on the *Spanish* Monarchy, and us'd all her Arts and all her Power to possess herself of it, in Whole or in Part. For this she has sometimes made use of Arms, sometimes of Treaties, and all against Justice and Honour; for the Foundation of all the Partition Treaties for the Monarchy of *Spain* is laid in Perjury, and the Breach of the most solemn Contracts; whereby the *French* King had renounc'd for ever all Pretences to the Dominions of *Spain*, without which Renunciation he had never had any: But this is as well known as the *French* King's Disposition to break any Treaty when he thinks it for his Interest, and therefore I shall not enlarge upon this Head.

Monfieur *De Wit* was so sensible of the Designs of *Lewis XIV.* on the Succession of *Spain*, that even during the Life of *Philip IV.* he propos'd to the Count *D Estrades*, the *French* Ambassador in *Holland*, to divide Part of the *Spanish* Netherlands between his Master and the States, and with the Rest to form a Republick, to enter into an Alliance with the *United Provinces*, as the

*Grisons*

*Grifons* are united to the *Swiss*. His Proposals were, that *Cambray*, *St Omer*, *Aire*, all *Artois*, *Borgue* *Se. Vinox*, *Furnes*, and *Newport*, shou'd be added to *France*; and *Ostent*, *Bruges*, with what is on the Continent, as far as *l'Ecluse* to the *United Provinces*. To which the Ambassador reply'd with the Frankness and Sincerity so much practis'd by the *French* Politicians, that He did not know his Master had any Thoughts of aggrandizing himself on the side of *Flanders*, on the contrary, he was contented with what he held, without being desirous of enlarging his Limits: Which one wou'd wonder how a Man cou'd speak with a grave Face to one who knew his Master and him as well as they did themselves; but the Pensionary was as great a Master in the Arts of Dissimulation as the Ambassador, and did not give over the Project.

The Count D'Estrades Letter, Vol. I. Page 101.

There were at the same time Deputies at the *Hague* from *Flanders*, to propose an Alliance between all the 17 Provinces, for their common Defence; which the *Louvestein* Faction in *Holland* having communicated to the *French* Court, Care was taken to render their Deputation ineffectual, at the same time that the *French* Ambassador seem'd very earnest to have it forwarded; and *Louis XIV.* himself was so coy, as to the propos'd Partition, that he wrote to his Ambassador. *I am very glad the Sieur de Wit is sensible, and sees so plainly by your* Ib. 109; *discovering to him my most Secret Thoughts and Intentions, on the Proposals which have been made him, that I am not so dangerous a Neighbor*

bour, nor a Prince so immoderately Ambitious, nor so Covetous of another's Territories, as my Enemies have publish'd with odious Exaggerations to create every where a Jealousy of my Power. As to that, I thank God, I think my Lot is good enough of itself, to cure me of any Concern or violent Desire to extend my Dominions, and provided I can keep those who do not love me (whose vast Designs or too great Power ought to be suspected by me) in a Condition to do me no Hurt, I shall think my self happy enough in what I have, and be very well contented with my present State. We shall, in due time, see what a Man of Disinterest and Moderation he is; for which blessed Qualities he so seriously thanks God. He was so very well pleas'd with *de Wit's* Offer of so good a Share of the Spanish Provinces in the *Netherlands*, that he was extremely edify'd with his Prudence and Affection for his Person and Glory, adding, It seem'd as if God had design'd him for great Things; and that, he thought, his acquiring so good a Friend in him was not the effect of hazard, but of Divine Providence; and in return, for his friendly Disposition to a Partition, he promises him Powerful Protection in all his Interests, if Occasion ever shou'd offer. Whoever reads *Momanius's* History, will see what Friends the *Louvestein* Faction were to their Country: Of these *de Wit* was Chief, and the first Man that ever thought of giving a Foot of Spain to the French King since the *Pyrenean* Treaty; but their Attachment to that Monarch was such, that it made way for the Conquest he threatn'd 'em with in 72, by the Divisions they occasion'd, and the Confusion or Treachery of their Councils.

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Ibid.



The good Man *Mons. de Wit*, in return *lb. 113.* to his Majesty's Compliment, promis'd he would never fail in Fidelity to his Majesty's Service and Glory. No sooner did the French King find that the Pensionary was willing to part with something of Spain to him, but he wrote to his Minister at the Hague, that he desir'd to have the *Mans* put into his Hands, to give him some effectual Marks of his Esteem and Affection, which, says he to his Ambassador, I shou'd do with a great deal of Joy; and if you can bring him to accept them, you will do me a very agreeable piece of Service. I cannot omit another Passage in that Letter: Represent to him how important it is to improve Opportunities, when Matters are well dispos'd; and not leave to the Levity of the People the Leisure and Means of changing Thoughts. You must know that when People come to the Use of their Understandings, his most Christian Majesty always calls it their Levity; and therefore he is ever in haste, when a Treaty is going forward that is more for his Advantage than theirs. I need not take notice of the King's Meaning, by having the *Mans* put into his Hands to give *Mons. de Wit* effectual Marks of his Love and Kindness; the Reader will perceive he would reward him with a lusty Bribe; whether he did it or not History does not tell, but the Ambassador writes to his Master, he cou'd perceive his Majesty's Offers touch'd him very nearly. Such things are always done in private, and how it was transacted remains yet in the dark. The Sequel shews the King and the Pensionary were very well

123. pleas'd with one another ; the latter being so fond o' the Partition, that he seem'd to use Violence on the King's Modesty ; for when his Minister was prest about it the next time, he tells him warmly, *he had seen how far his Majesty was from aggrandizing himself on the side of Flanders, that he look'd up-on himself as possess'd of enough without desiring more, and that since he knew the King's Intentions the Ambassador desir'd he might hear no more of it for he did not know how the King wou'd take it.* The *Louvestein* Party, call'd also the *French Faction*, wou'd not be satisfy'd with all this, nor hearken to the *Flemish* Deputies who daily sollicit'd an Alliance, and were even recommended by *France*. Nothing wou'd content them but the giving *Lewis XIV.* some of those Provinces ; and the Faction were so fond of it, they wou'd have the *Partition Treaty* past against all Forms and Rules, and not be communicated to the *States General* till it was done, and cou'd not be undone ; for there were a great many Wise and Honest Men in the *United Provinces*, who were for the *English* Interest ; and wou'd oppose any Measures for the extending the *French Tyranny*. That the Treaty was to be manag'd clandestinely, any one may see, by what the Ambassador writes his Master. For the Security of this Treaty, *Monf. de Wit* said, he saw but one Expedient, and that is, *Your Majesty having declar'd your Pleasure herein, and sent the necessary Powers to treat, he wou'd talk to his particular Friends of the Province of Holland, as the Burgomasters and Pensionaries of the Cities*

May 24.  
1663.

*Cities of Amsterdam, Dort, Rotterdam, Haerlem, Delft, and Alcmaer, and dispose them to sign the Treaty with him, in the name of the Province of Holland, with great Secrecy; and when the Time came, the Province shou'd declare she had made it, and desire the said Treaty to be executed.* 'Tis plain by what follows, that the Pensionary courted France to embrace the Partition; for the French Minister was still very shy, and *Monf. de Wit* asking him, How he lik'd the Project? The Ambassador reply'd, *There were very fine Thoughts in it; but he cou'd not give him his Advice in an Affair which hitherto seem'd to him, to be very far from his Majesty's Intention.* The Count *D'Estrades* knowing very well, that whatever his Master might talk of a Partition, and whatever Treaty he might enter into about it, his Intentions were to swallow up all the *Spanish* Succession; and that he made a shew of approving the Design, only to puzzle it. He demanded *Ghent* and *Mechlin*, which he knew the Dutch wou'd not consent to; because, as I have observ'd already, this matter was only carry'd on by a French Faction, and was to be done privately, and in a *June 21.* hurry; for the Ambassador tells his Master: *I must sincerely own to your Majesty my Diffidence of the Event, and my fear that it being necessarily to be communicated to Five or Six Persons of the Province of Holland, the Secret may not be kept, on which, however, the whole Affair depends, it wou'd not bear the light and the fair Discussion of the Publick.* From this time the Treaty went on with seeming



June 26.

seeming good-will on both sides ; but *de Wit* took all the Precautions imaginable to prevent its taking Air, as also any Opposition ; to which purpose the Count *D'Esbrades* writes to the King : To go to work for the Execution of the Project, *Monsieur de Wit* is about taking a Journey in the Province of Holland, to gain the Cities of Dort, Rotterdam, Leyden, Delft, Haerlem and Amsterdam ; and to do it with the more Secrecy, he intends to go to a House between the latter and Utrecht, under pretence of visiting the *Sieur de Groot*, his Uncle, who is the Owner of it, and those of his Friends, whose Assistance he designs to use in this Affair, are to rendezvous there. They will so order it, that Deputies depending on him, shall be chosen for the next Assembly the 10th of July, and such as he can dispose for your Majesty's Interests. Can any thing in the World be more evident than that those who promoted this first Treaty of Partition were Creatures of France ? Yet we shall see how she tricks them, and without performing one Article of the private Treaty, leaves them to the Resentments and Rage of their Country.

The 29th of June 1663, that King wrote to his Ambassador : I have still accepted of this second Proposal, on the same Terms the said *Sieur de Wit* thought fitting and just for each, without any Restitution or Alteration imaginable. So that we find the Business is done, and the Treaty concluded by the Pensionary only ; and it does not appear that even the States of Holland, his Masters, knew any thing of the Matter. I cannot but mention

mention one Reason *de Wit* gave the Dutch Burgomasters for this Treaty with France, which was to prevent being over-run by the Turks: There being nothing so foreign and distant, which that crafty Minister cou'd not improve to his Purpose. *D'Estrades*, says *De Wit*, told the Deputies, He cou'd not but be apprehensive that in a little while, their Country would have a Barbarous Nation for their Borderers, whose Power was so great, their State wou'd not be able to resist, and therefore a League was to be enter'd into with France against the Turks; which past current with the Burgomasters and Pensionaries; for there being not one of all the *Lowestein* Faction, who had Cunning enough to find out *de Wit*'s Designs, or see through his Politicks; every thing he said to 'em was taken as an Effect of his profound Policy, and his Craft and Fraud never suspected, it being disguis'd with the Specious Pretence of Love to his Country. The Ambassador, not long after, writes his Master, the Pensionary left all the People confirm'd in the fear of the Turks Power, and he also impos'd on the poor Dutch, by representing to 'em, that 'twou'd be difficult to engage the King to defend them against the Turks, unless they came into this Partition Treaty, which, as is before mention'd, was transacting while the King of Spain and his Son were still living, and the Renunciation but of Four Years date.

This Partition not taking effect, through the Difficulties it met with, the French Ambassador insinuated to *de Wit*, that his Master's

Master's *Renunciation* of the *Spanish* Succession was *invalid*, because all the Queen's Portion was not paid. To which the Pensionary, with great Civility reply'd, *He thought his Majesty's Pretensions had Reason on their side.* One thing I cannot omit in this matter, which is, the extream Delicacy of the French King's Conscience, in keeping his Treaties; for at the very time this Project of Partition was on foot, just upon the conclusion of the *Pyrenean* Treaties, he writes to his Minister: *The Execution of these Two Articles being a notorious Breach of the Peace, it seems to me we can't in Decency or Honour insert them in a Treaty, wherein, in another place, we declare our Intention is to keep religiously the late Treaties of Peace made with Spain.* Yet the 21<sup>st</sup> of September, he sent his Ambassador at the *Hague* a Project to divide the *Spanish Netherlands*, by which he promis'd to give all the Places that shou'd fall to him in right of his Wife, in the *Low Countries*, their Liberty, except *Cambray, Aire, Newport, Furnes and Binch*, and the Lordships of *Cassel, Balieu, and Popringue*, which he kept for himself, and gave the States *Ostend, Plassendal, Bruges, Damme, Blenquenberque, Gelderland*, the Four *Spanish* Quarters of *Outermeuse*, and the Castles of *Navaigne and Argenteau*. This Project was offer'd to *de Wit*, and at the same time the Ambassador represented to him the Nullity of the French King's *Renunciation*, because it was never ratify'd in France; which, says the French King in one of his Letters, was expressly stipulated by the *Marriage Contract*;



*Contract*; but he soon got over that express Stipulation. And for these strong Reasons the Pensionary, as the Count tells the King, *was fully convinc'd of the Justice of his Majesty's Rights, and he doubted not he was also of his Moderation, and wou'd act in it as the King wou'd have him.* P. 175.

While this Matter was depending, a Report was spread, That the King of Spain was dead, and immediately the Projected Partition and Republick are drop'd, and nothing talk'd of but the Queen's Rights to the Succession of *Brabant* and *Namur*, as Eldest Daughter; the Females, by a First Wife, as he pretended, succeeding before the Males by a Second; but this Affair was of such Importance, that *Lewis XIV.* himself was puzzled to make it out clearly, and therefore having order'd it to be examin'd at *Paris*, he writes to his Minister at the *Hague*: *If the Sieur de Wit inclines to serve me, as I am assur'd he does, he will advise to it, and might perhaps furnish me with good Memoirs. I am very sensible of the obliging way he takes in all things relating to my Interest, as also of his Sincerity and Openness of Heart, I shall always behave myself in the same manner with respect to him, and have the same Confidence in him.* There was now a wonderful Endearment between the King and the Pensionary, notwithstanding the former had laid aside the *Partition Treaty*, to look into his Wife's Right to those Two Provinces in her Brother's Life time. However, on some Jealousy of a Disposition in *England* to treat with *Spain*, and of the

p. 213.

the Dutch to embrace the League with the Spanish Netherlands, the most Christian King speaks in another Tone, and threatens them to enter into a Treaty with England, Which, says he, *I can do to morrow*, for it seems he knew more of us than the Dutch did, and had a better Correspondence with the Court of England than *De Wit*. The French King's insisting on the Succession of *Namur* and *Brabant*, created terrible Apprehensions in the Dutch; and the Pensionary was forc'd to submit, in some measure, to the strong Disposition of the People to league against France, at least not to think of concluding a Treaty which was to give that Crown so much besides those Two Provinces, *Lewis XIV.* resolving not to disist from his Pretensions to them. Upon this the French Ambassador writes to his Master: *The Sieur de Wit is not easily to be led away, when he thinks his Reputation concern'd, he having advanc'd far in the Business without much Communication; and having had the Boldness to do it of himself, and without Order, of which I fear the Spanish Ambassador will make fine Work, as 'tis very probable he wou'd have done, had not De Wit's Power been so great, that no Foreign Minister cou'd be heard but by his Means, nor succeed in any Negotiation which the Pensionary did not countenance. The latter labour'd with the Province of Holland to bring them to accept of the Partition Treaty, as the French King wou'd have them; which the City of Amsterdam, and the other Cities, wou'd not consent to. The Pensionary spar'd*

spar'd for no Industry to dispose them to it, he put off the Meeting of the States, and got a Deputy chosen for *Amsterdam* to his mind, and the great Satisfaction of the French Ambassador, who tells the Count de Lionne in one of his Letters: *No Man* p. 238.  
*cou'd do better than Monsieur DeWit has done, and 'tis not his fault if the King has not Satisfaction; his own Interest is engaged in it also, and he perceives if the Treaty he propos'd does not go forward, he's not strong enough alone to maintain his Party against the Cabals which are forming to destroy it. I cou'd do no less than thank him for his good Disposition for his Majesty's Service, and assure him, if he did any thing which shew'd his Inclination and Affection to the King, he might depend upon his Protection in his own Interests; and I might tell him before hand, he might venture with such a Second to act vigorously, and not doubt of Success. I observ'd he was very well pleas'd, and I hope I may next Post be able to write you something more than all this. What can those Gentlemen, who have so high an Opinion of the Pensionary's Honesty and Ability, think of this? Was it not the Interest of the United Provinces to league with Spain and England against France? And did he not sacrifice it by being so eager for this Partition? What Reason he had we find by the Count D'Estrade's saying, He perceives if the Treaty he propos'd does not go forward, he's not strong enough alone to maintain his Party against the Cabals that are forming to destroy it: And the Frenchman cou'd not, at that time, have promis'd him a better Second than*



than his Master. In the mean while the Pensionary found his Treaty at a stand, and the Dutch began to be inquisitive about the French King's pretended Right, to which Lewis XIV. gives them this satisfactory Answer: *His Majesty finds his Right abundantly, and beyond what he expected when he began the Inquiry.* And at last the Count D'Estrades wrote to him: *I confess, Sir, the only way for the good of your Service, and the Preservation of the Rights you may one Day have to the Netherlands, is not to be bound to any Condition; but for your Majesty to be left at full liberty to do, when time shall serve, what you shall think fit.* For the Ambassador was a little honefter than his Master, and wou'd not have him conclude a Treaty, which he was very well satisfy'd wou'd be made only to be broken, and now the only Business that was left him in it, was to tell De Wit that his Majesty wou'd not keep to the Partition Treaty, which had been depending a Twelve Month, and he did it in these Words: *That Holland only engaging, it was not certain the States General wou'd approve the Treaty. That he knew by experience to what a little Populace was liable, and 'twas not Prudence to expose ones self to those Hazards. That the Conditions wou'd be much more certain, when they shou'd be agreed to by the States General, than if they were unseasonably agreed upon with the States of Holland. That he was particularly to declare to him, what an Esteem his Majesty had for his Friendship, of which he had receiv'd sensible Marks in the whole Management of this Negotiation, in return of*  
*which*

which he might depend on the King's Protection. De Wit was not so great a Stranger to the French King, as to be surpriz'd at this Prevarication, and tho' it left him in no very good Condition, making him accountable for a Clandestine Treaty which never took effect, Yet he heard all, says the Ambassador, like a Man who expected it, and had guess'd as much; And reply'd, That since his Majesty had Reasons to put off the Treaty to another time, they must be submitted to. Notwithstanding all this, and that the Secret Treaty of Partition prov'd so Abortive, the Pensionary appear'd to be in a very good Humour with his most Christian Majesty, whom he promises, That he wou'd in the mean while so manage his Friends, as to keep them well affected to his Interests as he had brought them to be. That he was infinitely oblig'd to his Majesty for the Honour he had done him in promising him his Protection, and wou'd let no Opportunity slip to show his Gratitude. It must not be forgotten, that the Emperor had now had Proposals of a Partition, which was not so strange a thing as some disaffected People in England made of it sometime after. The French King in the Management of this Matter, had taken no notice of his Father-in-law, the King of Spain, of England, of Germany, or any other of the Princes with whom he had Alliance, nor had the Pensionary dealt more sincerely with the Allies of the State. This way of proceeding cou'd be occasion'd by nothing in the World but Lewis's Knowledge of his Perfidiousness in break-

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P. 72.

ing the *Pyrenean Treaty*, and *de Wit's* being conscious that he was doing that for *France* which the People in general wou'd obstruct, if they had known of it. A fair Cause abhors such dark Measures: And that the *French King* knew full well he was acting in an unwarrantable manner, may appear by what he wrote *De Wit*, as soon as he heard that the States inclin'd to a Treaty with *Spain*, and that there had been some steps taken towards it. *This Proceeding of theirs*, says his Majesty, or of those who are at the Head of their Affairs, is not like that of a true Friend and Ally; for if the thing is indifferent, they ought not to make a Mystery of it; if it is not, they are by the Law of Alliance oblig'd to give their Confederates notice of what passes, in which his Interest is ever so little concern'd. Here the most Christian King shews us, that he sins against Knowledge, when he does not do what his Treaties oblige him to, and that whatever State is in alliance with others, it no longer deserves the Name of a *True Friend and Ally*, if it does not give all its Confederates notice of what passes wherein their Interest is ever so little concern'd. I doubt not, if we were to carry our Inquiries so far, Instances might be given of the breaking of this Law of Alliances, but I believe it will always be found to be done by such as were fond of *French Politicks*, and thought they cou'd not have better Authority for what they did, than the Example of the *French King*, for whose Interest *Monfieur De Wit* did not keep to this Law so well as he ought



ought to have done, making that King himself the Judge.

I will not pretend to determine whether the Pensionary was so Honest a Man as some imagine him to be, all I have propos'd to my self in this Treatise, was to shew he was entirely in the *French* Interest, and out of an invincible Hatred to the *Orange* Party, wou'd hearken to no Terms of Alliance with *Germany*, *England*, and *Spain*, to prevent the growing Power of *France*; 'tis true, the Alliance of *England* was precarious, but that of *Germany* and *Spain* infallible, as being grounded on self Preservation as well as their own; and tho' a corrupt Ministry in *England* were at that time for a *French* League, the People were generally against it; and had *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Holland* united heartily against *France*, *England* must have done the same, or have thrown off the Vizard, and declar'd openly for *Lewis XIV.* which none of her Ministers durst do, so odious have any Engagement with the *French* Court been always to the *English*.

The *Spanish* Ambassador at the *Hague*, assisted by the Emperor's having propos'd a Treaty for the Preservation of the *Netherlands*, and the Cities of *Holland* giving into it, the *French* Minister was allarm'd, and warmly represented to *De Wit* how ill it would be taken by his Master; but the Pensionary assures him, he had given the Imperial Resident such an Answer as shew'd he had nothing to hope for. The House of *Austria* being in no degree of Favour with the

*Loudestein* Party, and tho' the *French* Power was such, that it cou'd in a few Campaigns have reduc'd it to a Condition of begging Peace rather than disputing Empire, yet they always talk'd of that House as if it had been as powerful as in the Reign of *Charles V.* and of *France*, as if it had been as weak as when its Dominions were a third less, and the *French* divided as they then were. When the *Germans* and their Confederates had the least Success, it was the way of our Ministers, and the *French* Faction in *Holland*, to cry up the Greatness of the House of *Austria*, to lessen the Fears of that of *Bourbon*; upon which the Prince of *Orange* said a very just thing, when he was tamper'd with on that Subject: *There's no need of fearing the House of Austria, till they go beyond the Peace of the Pyrenees; whenever that shall happen, I will be as much a Frenchman as I am now a Spaniard, but not before.*

During these Negotiations in *Holland*, there happen'd a Difference between the States and the Duke of *Newburgh*, the Elector of *Cologne*, and other neighbouring Princes which the Imperial Minister endeavour'd to have accommodated, to prevent the ill Consequences of a Rupture, of which *France* wou'd be sure to make an Advantage. *De Wit* cou'd not help complying with such a Proposal, and inform'd the *French* Ambassador of it; but told him with all, *It will appear they wou'd have obtain'd Satisfaction sooner, by his most Christian Majesty's Recommendation, than other Princes.* And not

not long after, at a Conference between the *French* Minister, and the Heads of the *Louvestein* Faction, wherein it was notify'd that the Imperial Resident had let the Emperor know there was no hope of bringing his Project about. The Count *D'Estrades* complemented the *Sieur De Wit* and the rest, who behav'd themselves as he wou'd have had them in that Affair, in the King's Name ; and says in one of his Letters to his Master on that Occasion, *They all promis'd me to be always firm in your Interests, and to pay a Deference to your Councils.* p. 331.

The Reason some Persons give against any Suspicion of *De Wit's* falling in with the *French* King's Interest is his Profession of *Republican Principles*, 'tis true, he was educated, in them, and had a Zealous Commonwealth's Man for his Father ; he was himself always professing a Zeal for the Service of his Country, but I am apt to believe that if he cou'd have ruin'd the Prince of *Orange's* Party, and have maintain'd his own by any other Protection than that of *France*, he wou'd not have apply'd to the *French* King out of choice, there being such a prodigious deal of difference between the Principles of Arbitrary Government and that of a Republick, in which the Pensionary was bred, that one can't imagine he was in love with the *French* King's Politicks, on any other account, than that he thought he cou'd not support himself by any other Means. It must be own'd, he had a vast Capacity, since he cou'd of himself manage such an



ungovernable People, and bring them into all his Measures ; for there was hardly a Great Man in *Holland* that was of his Party. Those that sided with him were his Tools, and if Two or Three Wise Men seem'd to join with him, it was with Views quite different from his. They had all along a Veneration for the House of *Orange*, and no Aversion to his Succession to the Dignity of his Ancestors, I mean particularly *Monsieur de Beverning* and *Monsieur Van Beuningen*, as able Men as *De Wit*, and much honefter. Whereas almost all the hot Deputies who join'd in with the Pensionary, as they were devoted to *France*, so they were utter Enemies to the Succession, and wou'd never hear of doing any thing for the Prince that might tend to his Succeeding his Father in the High Offices he held in that Commonwealth. These Deputies were for the Partition we have been treating of, and these were the Men that had given the *French* Minister such hearty Assurances of their espousing his Masters Interests on all Occasions. In-  
 somuch that the Count wrote to him in the same Letter, *I can assure your Majesty you are in such Consideration here, that they had not more Respect nor Deference for the late King Henry IV. than they have for your Majesty ; for they resolv'd this Morning to form no important Design, in the Affairs which may happen to them, without first consulting your Majesty, &c.* I wou'd ask the Gentlemen that take *Monsieur De Wit*, and his Faction, to have been no Friends to *France*, Whether they think

think Monsieur *D'Esfrades*, one of the ablest Ministers of his Time, was impos'd upon them? If not, Whether Men cou'd give greater Instances of their Affection and Devotion, than in this Declaration? The War between *England* and *Holland* was now breaking out, and the *Louvestien* Party were the more stiff in their Conduct in it, because they were afraid of the King of *England's* supporting his Nephew, the Prince of *Orange*, in his Pretensions to the Succession, which if ever he obtain'd, they foresaw it wou'd end in their Destruction. The Friends of that Prince, who were the true Friends of *England* and their own Country, had an Abhorrence of the Alliance with *France*, and the War with King *Charles II.* which the *French* King privately fomented, and the *Dutch* were encouraged chiefly in it, by his Promises to join with them, pursuant to a Treaty he had made with them in 1662. which he still prevaricated in, sometime on one Pretence, sometime on another; and when he at last declar'd for the *Dutch*, he did it in such a manner that it was plain he wou'd not have done it, had he not been afraid of the States clapping up a Peace with *England*, and entring into an Alliance with *Spain*, which was so apparently their Interest to do: Yet when it came to a Rupture, and the Pensionary saw how *Lewis XIV.* dealt doubly with him, out of pure Envy or Hatred to the House of *Orange*, he suffer'd the *French* to amuse and deceive him, and his Country to be expos'd to the

Hazards of a Cruel War rather than venture the Ruin of his Faction by persuing just and open Councils. His Ministry was the most misterious that then was in *Euorpe*, and indeed there are some Politicians, who, when their Counsels are set to light lose all their Mesit which was founded only on Prejudice and Ignorance. When a thing was offer'd in the Assembly against the *French King*, He took the *Deputies* up, says the Ambassador, and told them his Majesty was the Father of this State, which appear'd most visibly in the Year 1672. when he resolv'd to be as much a Father of this Country as he was of his own, and therefore attempted by Conquest to unite them. He started his Queen's Rights to the *Spanish* Succession, as often as he was sollicitited to fulfil the Treaty of 1662. and his Minister talk'd now in a true *French* Tone, They must oblige themselves to break with the House of Austria to maintain the Queen's Rights, without being permitted to examine, Whether they are just or not? And he backs this with a Reason which none durst say a word against, 'Tis sufficient that his Majesty thinks them so. Which was enough in all conscience, to satisfy People who had so good an Opinion of *Leis XIV's* Fatherly Care of them. The *Louvestein* Party was the most zealous in the Course of the War, and the *French* Ambassador took care to keep 'em warm. Those who were of another Sentiment, he call'd the *Spanish* Faction. And he tells Monsieur de Lionne, in his Letter of the 26th of February 1665.

Pm



## of EUROPE.

25

*I'm afraid of their accommodating matters with the English; in such case we shall have contented neither Party, and shall find it a hard matter to make any Progress in Flanders; which is a Demonstration of what Advantage the French thought it, to keep up the Louvestein Faction in Holland, no less than the Securing the Conquest of Flanders, which the Pensionary must be a very ill Politician not to see, or a very ill Minister not to prevent; and since the former admits of no doubt, the latter must be the Consequence from whence may be observ'd what is the Power of Ambition in some Minds, that it overcomes the Love of ones Country, and even all Sentiments of Honour and Gratitude; for it was to secure to himself the Employment he was in, that he sacrific'd the true Interests of the State to the power of the French King. 'Twas by De Wit's means that the Prince of Tarente was made Governour of Boissleduc, which, as the Count D'Estrades wrote to the King, Is the strongest and most considerable Place the States have. All the Spanish Cabal was against him, and even some of the States went from House to House, to sollicite against him: Saying, 'twas very dangerous to put the Key of the Country into the Hands of a Frenchman. All which Monsieur De Wit and his Party got over, and the Prince carries himself very well towards those that govern, and acts with a great deal of Zeal, in every thing which concerns his Majesty's Service. That the People in general did not approve of the Proceedings of the Pensionary and his Faction*

Faction, appear'd by the Murmurings in all the Cities, *and their declaring aloud, they did not believe the French King wou'd assist 'em pursuant to his Treaties.* But *De Wit* and his Party were so bent against the *English*, that they did not press the King to the Performance of his Treaty, farther than consisted with good Manners, and their Fears of offending him. Nay, when after the *English* had beaten 'em at Sea, in 1665. and the *Spanish* Party, as the *French* Ambassador call'd all that were against him, cry'd out the *French* King had abandon'd them, that it would be best to make Peace with *England*, and restore the Prince of *Orange* to his Offices. *De Wit* said, they should rather temporize a little, and send to *Monsieur Van Beauringen* at *Paris*, to press the King to perform the Guaranty: And he carry'd it by his Majority in the Assemblies, contrary to the General Sentiments of the People. The City of *Amsterdam* murmur'd, and exclaim'd against the Ministry. At *Leyden*, the Citizens threw a Drummer into the River, because he Beat up for Men for the Service of the Lords the States, crying out *He should beat for the Prince of Orange, and not for Traytors.* Neither was the Fleet free from Descontents. Several Sea-Captains, accompany'd with a great Number of Seamen, getting together, said publickly, *They would never go to Sea again, if the Prince of Orange's Flag was not born.* And tho' *De Wit* had the Address to keep the Fire from breaking out into a Flame for some Years,

yet

yet he durst not Chastize the Offenders ; and in the end, the Destruction which now, but threaten'd, overtook him. To avert the Blow, he labour'd as much as in him lay to prevent a General Assembly, which *D' Estrades* wrote his Master would be the Ruin of the Pensionary, whereas the Govern'd that of *Holland* at his Pleasure ; and *De Wit* was so Conscious of the Disposition of the *Dutch* towards him, that he was afraid to stay ashore in the Year 1665. which was the Reason of his Solliciting a Commission to go aboard the Fleet, comparing his Condition to *Mazarine's*, who having almost all *France* against him, took on him the Command of the Army at *Rhetel*. He flatter'd himself if he could beat the *English*, he should fix his Authority at Home, and the Danger of the War did not seem greater to him, than the Hazard of Mutinies and Insurrections. For now tho' the Deputies were so much against the Prince of *Orange*, the *Sieur De Wit*, says *D' Estrades*, had much a'lo to defend himself in all the Matters laid to his Charge in this War.

I have so often mention'd the *Louvestein* Faction that it will not be improper to give a short Account of them, and how they came to be so called. They were Originally of the *Arminian* Party, which in a Word, took in all the *Dutch* Tories, tho' they pretended a mighty Zeal for the Republick. But *Sir William Temple* gives us the best Image of them, in his *Observations on the United Provinces*, where he tells us



us their Principles were thought to lead them in Barnevelt's Time, towards a Conjunction, or at least a Compliance with the Spanish Religion and Government; both which the House of Orange in the whole Course of the War, endeavour'd to make irreconcilable with those of that State. One may by this Description, see what excellent Patriots these were, who pretending a Zeal for Religion and Liberty, would have confirm'd 'em by Popery and the Inquisition. For what else are the Spanish Religion and Government, to which out of Hatred to the House of Orange, who deliver'd 'em from Idolatry and Slavery, they were for complying? Now the *Arminian* Principles Infected the Church of England, in the Reigns of King James, and King Charles the First; and Story informs us, that the Clergy than Infected, were the most Zealous for Ceremonies and Arbitrary Power. The Head of the *Arminians* in Holland, was Barnevelt, and in the Year 1650. Jacob de Wit, and five other Gentlemen, were seiz'd by Command of the Prince of Orange, Father of King William, for pursuing Barnevelt's Practices, and Imprison'd in the Castle of *Louvestein*. John De Wit and his Party, continuing to maintain the same Principles, were term'd the *Louvestein Faction*; and the Remembrance of his Father's Imprisonment, did, doubtless, animate him as much against the Prince of Orange's Interest, as his pretended Jealousie of the *Stadtholder's* Power, which that Faction depriv'd him of in his Infancy, and Leagu'd with

with the *French* so closely for Protection and Assistance against the Princes Party, who had early Apprehensions of the Greatness of *France*, and were for entering into an Alliance with *Spain*, then reduc'd so low, that there could be no just Reason to fear any Danger from that Quarter. The People were generally well-affected to the Prince of *Orange*. after his Father's Death, and it was not without Insurrections in several Places, that *John De Wit* on his being advanc'd to the Office of Pensionary of *Holland*, got the Dignity of Stadtholder to be suppress'd by a *Perpetual Edict*. The Inhabitants of *Dort*, *Enkhuysen*, and *Hoorn*, took Arms, and the very Militia at the *Hague*, would not March till their Colours with the Arms of *Orange*, which had been taken from them, were restor'd. But the Prince being in the Cradle, and the *Dutch* having suffer'd very much by their War with the *English*, which made the *French* Name more acceptable, and by King *Charles*, who pretended to protect his Nephew, the Pensionary had Opportunities to promote Alliances with *France*, and that produc'd the Terrible Revolution in 1672, both to his Country and his Family. For if all that has been said of his Conduct in that Affair, of his Allying with *France* rather than *Spain*, cannot prove his Partiality to the *French*, for the support of his own Faction, let us see what *Sir William Temple* writes of it, and he having a very high Opinion of the Pensionary, is certainly an impartial Judge in

in this Matter. It is in his Discourse of the Causes of the Fall of the United Provinces, in the Year before mention'd. But as Holland had ever defended it self against Spain by England and France, so it ought to have done against France, by England and Spain, and provided early against their own Danger, as well as that of Flanders, by improving and advancing their Confederate League with England and Sweden, into a strict Defensive Alliance with Spain, as a Principal in the League; and by agreeing with that Crown to furnish between them some constant Subsidiary Payments to Sweden, for the support of their Standing Forces even in Time of Peace. This was the Desire of Spain, this the Interest of all that meant to secure the Peace of Christendom, and the Opinion of some of the Dutch Ministers, tho' not of the Chiefest, till it was too late. Is not this a Proof of what I have been intimating, that either the Pensionary was not that great Politician, or that Honest Man as some represent him? He must know all this as well as Sir William Temple. But an Alliance with Spain, would have outed him of his Ministry, and dissolv'd his Factions which they could not bear the Thought of. Rather let the French come to the Gates of their Capital, give Laws to their States, and lay their Provinces waste, than part with that Power which made him Courted Abroad, and fear'd at Home. That State is certainly in a miserable Condition, which has at the Head of Affairs a Person who cannot continue in his Office with safety to his Country,



try, nor quit it with safety to himself, but is forc'd to increase the Publick Hatred by the Means he acquir'd it. There was no need of being so good a State-prophet as Sir *William* was, to foretel what would be the end of such a Man. Above Two Years before, it happen'd he wrote to my Lord *Arlington*, that nothing could out Mr. *De Wit*, but some *Violent Revolution*, which indeed he was himself afraid of; and I do not believe a Minister of State, who knows he has in all things acted with an Honest Intention for the Publick, and not his Private Interest, ever was, or ever will be, apprehensive of such a Revolution. Innocence has no such Fears, and Publick Merit will be too hard for Envy and Malice, where it has no mixture of Faction and Corruption. This Person had, 'tis true, one good Quality that would have made amends for many ill ones, had he not been so much a *Frenchman*, which was his not improving an Ordinary Fortune left him by his Father, to any Excess, at least in Appearance, and despising that Pomp and Figure which others are so fond of. But one may very well suspect, that a Man who had enter'd in so strict a Correspondence, with such a King as *Lewis XIV.* in the Zenith of his Power and Riches, had ways to make his Majesties Royal Bounty useful to his Party, if it was not to himself; and as Pride and Revenge had the Dominion in his Heart, so it was no wonder there was not so much room for Avarice, as one would expect, when a Man had

had so little, and so many Opportunities to have more.

I have often wonder'd how it was possible for Monsieur De Wit, and his Party, against the Bent of Six Provinces, and half of the Seventh, to engage the Dutch so closely as he did with the French. I doubt not they were great Professors of Oeconomy, and mightily for the Constitution both in Church and State, that they rail'd at all those that were for the Prince's Succession to the *Stadtholderate* as Abettors of Faction and Sedition, that they magnify'd the Powers of the House of Austria, and lessen'd that of Bourbon; and being in the possession of all the Places of Trust and Honour, cou'd oblige a sufficient number to maintain themselves in them. Yet this must surely be very difficult to accomplish in a Country so tenacious of their Liberty, which they had so dearly purchas'd, and where the People were generally averse to any Union with France. All things tending thereto being manag'd in the dark, or with a high Hand. During the first Dutch War, Every one, says D'Estrades, is for an Accommodation with England, except Monsieur De Wit, and his Party. We are not look'd upon here as Friends, but are declaim'd against at a horrible rate, I cannot enough describe to you how we are rail'd at here. Monsieur de Wit says little, 'tis rumour'd in the Cities, he has an Understanding with the King, and that he is a Traytor; and if he goes aboard the Fleet, 'tis because he has Friends there, and will be safer than ashore. All which the Pensionary did not

not matter, being concern'd for nothing but the *French King's* not declaring for the *Dutch*, as if he would do any thing *bona fide*, that was to be of any Benefit to them. *De Wit* was so obstinate in this Adherence to *France*, that tho' the Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*, the Marquis de *Castel Rodrigo* wrote the States, that the War with *England* was come upon them with the Participation of *France*, and by her Councils; and that that of *Munster* was in like manner fomented by her, yet Monsieur de *Wit*, notwithstanding all the good Impressions that Intimation made in the Minds of the *Hollanders* got what Resolutions the *French* pleas'd to be taken. And when his most Christian Majesty had let the *Dutch* be well beaten by Land, before he made any Declaration in favour of them, as he was oblig'd to do by his Treaties, he at last does it with this singular mark of Grace to the Pensionary, commanding his Ambassador to acquaint him, that one of the most pressing Considerations which made him hasten his Declaration, (which by the way had been demanded almost a Year) was the particular Interest of the said *De Wit*, and my Desire to support him, and disperse and render impotent all the Cabals forming in the State against him, to ruin him or weaken his Authority. For which last Obligation, which the States were not one Penny the better for, the Fleet and Army he sent having never done 'em the least Service, he gives the Pensionary to understand that he promises himself, he will at all times, and in all

Assists,



*Affairs, give him effective Proofs of his Affection and Gratitude.* To encourage him in it, he commands his Minister to tell him, "He had sent positive Orders to him, if he thought proper, either for the *Sieur De Wit's* greater Security, or the better and sooner to disperse the Cabals forming against him, that the Ambassador should do him any good Office, in his Name, with the States, to favour the Pensionary, to praise his Merit and Services, and let them know how much his most Christian Majesty thought it for their Advantage to continue the Frust they put in him; or if his Name was not thought proper to be mention'd, then the King's Ambassador was to inform them, that he had a great Esteem for the *Present Ministry*, which seem'd to his Majesty to be the best and most conducive to the Safety and Preservation of the State. That as their good Friend and Ally, and one so much concern'd in their good Conduct, he exhorted them vigorously to oppose the Intrigues, which were but too well known to be carry'd on in the Provinces to change the Administration, and his Majesty did it the rather; for that if things should so happen, he cou'd no longer have the same Confidence in them, because their Enemies wou'd then be Masters, and he cou'd expect no good from them. But tho' his most Christian Majesty seem'd to set so high a Value on his Declaration, it was not receiv'd in *Holland* with so much

Rapture

Rapture as he expected ; they had been  
 tir'd with his Delays, and those who were  
 not in the Secret, cou'd make no Con-  
 jecture, by Appearances, but that *Lewis XIV.*  
 having drawn their Ministry into War, by  
 hopes of Assistance, had no other Design  
 than to see the Two principal Protestant  
 States of *Europe* ruin one another by their  
 mad Broils, that he might make his Mar-  
 ket, and the more easily destroy their Re-  
 ligion, Liberty, and Trade. All the *Orange*  
 Party took this Declaration of his for Gri-  
 mace, and the Pensionary being out of the  
 way, the *French* Ambassador had the Morti-  
 fication to find his Master's Friendship was  
 look'd upon as dangerous as the *English* War. Vol. II.  
 Accordingly he writes him : *The States wou'd* 48.  
*certainly have receiv'd your Majesty's Declaration*  
*with more Joy than they did, but Monsf. De Wit,*  
*who prepares Men's minds to take things in a good*  
*Sense, and shews 'em to be for the good of the*  
*State, is not now here.* The Minister, who  
 us'd to set a Gloss on the Councils of *France*,  
 to extol that King's Affection for their  
 State, to magnify the Greatness of the  
 House of *Austria*, and the Friendship of  
 that of *Bourbon*, was absent; and now the  
 People, who had no such Biass to influence  
 them, receiv'd the pretended Declaration  
 as Men of Sense, who understood their  
 true Interest. Tho' the *French* King had  
 declar'd against *England*, yet he took care  
 the *Dutch* shou'd not have any Benefit by  
 it, and delay'd his Fleet in the *Mediterra-*  
*nean*, under the Duke of *Beaufort*, so long,  
 that all the Action of the Summer, at Sea,

was over, before the *French Squadron* con'd join the *Dutch*; and when the Junction was made, all the World saw the *French* were not in earnest, being only Spectators of the War; which they were pleas'd to see prosecuted so vigorously between Two Protestant States, the Maritime Strength of Christendom, which being destroy'd by themselves, wou'd make way for him to usurp the Empire both of Sea and Land. Yet for this shew of Friendship he demanded no less than the Town of *Maestricht*, which perhaps had been given him by the *French* Faction, if some of 'em had not had Offices and Posts in that Government, which they were loath to part with, *Unless*, as *D'Estrades* writes, *an Equivalent be promis'd*. 'Tis certain there was a Treaty on foot, in secret, to receive a *French* Garrison into that important Place, *Lewis XIV.* pretending he cou'd not otherwise be safe, and secure the Assistance of *Holland*, when he shou'd, in his Wife's right, invade *Flanders*. But that was a step the Faction had not Boldness enough to take, it was too obvious, and wou'd have open'd the blind Eyes of the deluded *Hollanders*; they were not all so stupid as we have frequently hinted; and now *De Witt* was aboard the Fleet, the Partizans of *Orange*, *Spain*, and *England*, scatter'd printed Papers against him, making him Author of the War, out of ambition to render himself Master of all Affairs; which succeeded so well, that he was publickly talk'd of as a *Traitor*, and some of the  
greater



greatest Men in *Holland* threw up their Offices, because they would not serve with him, particularly *Monfieur de Beverning*, to whom the *French* Ambassador went, to perswade him not to lay down at such a Juncture, for fear it might prove Injurious to the Pensionary. That Minister spoke much of the 6000 Men the *French* King had sent them, to assist 'em against the Bishop of *Munster*. *Monfieur de Beverning*, who had been Treasurer, and knew the State of their Affairs, reply'd, 6000 Men wou'd not save 'em, when there were 20000 in the Provinces, and their Country had been plunder'd; for 'tis to be noted, that the Bishop of *Munster* had done 'em all the Mischief he cou'd, before the 6000 *French* march'd to *Holland*.

When the Pensionary return'd from the Fleet, the *French* Ambassador was presently with him, to let him know what a Friend he had in his Master. *De Wit* express'd himself to be very sensible of his Majesty's Favour, and to desire nothing so much as an Opportunity to shew his Gratitude by some Service. He thought it convenient that the *French* Minister shou'd give the Cities to understand how much his Majesty was satisfy'd with the present Ministry, and that if it was chang'd, he shou'd take other Measures; while Matters went on so amicably between the *French* King and the Pensionary the Protestant Interest suffer'd, and the Ministers in *Holland*, as strict as the Law is in such Cases, did not forbear preaching against the League with

*France.* He who was in possession of the great Church in the *Hague*, whose Name was *Hotteman*, told 'em in the Pulpit, God Chastis'd them for accepting the Assistance of an Idolatrous King, who wou'd be as ready to massacre them, as their Brethren were massacred on St. Bartholomew's Day, by another King his Predecessor, who besides this Barbarity, caus'd several Innocents to be murther'd at Antwerp, and quitting the Alliance of a King of their Religion, to war with him by the Maxims of an ill Government. The Preacher was, on complaint, brought before the States, who examin'd him, and several voted for his Discharge; but the French Faction, who in all places dread nothing so much as freedom of Speech, thought he shou'd be punish'd, because, as the Ambassador says, *He aim'd at the King's Person.* Accordingly he was suspended from the Church, not for Three Years, but for ever, tho' he was very much belov'd; yet, as *D'Estrades* writes further, *Things were so manag'd that nothing ill came of it.*

Notwithstanding the insignificancy of the French King's Declaration, He and his Minister continu'd to set a high Value on it, tho' it had not been a Guilder to the Advantage of the States; on the contrary, the Subsidy which was to be paid by France from the Rupture with England to that time, was only brought to an unreasonable Account, drawn up by *Colbert*, wherein the States are charg'd with the Expence of the French King's Embassy to amuse them with hopes of a Peace in Eng-

land;

land; and that of the 6000 Men, who never got, or recover'd them an Inch of Ground from the Bishop of *Munster*, but Plunder'd the Country, Insulted the Protestants in Divine Worship, and were so great a Grievance, that the Inhabitants were as weary of them as of the *Munsterians*, and suffer'd as much by them. Yet by *Colbert's* Account, the States were 700000 Livres in Debt to his Master, from whom they expected twice the Sum; however the *French* Faction put up all this, and the Ambassador had Orders to speak freely to the *Sieur De Wit*, of the *Queens* Right to the Netherlands; and that he promis'd himself such a Return from the Gratitude of the States, that they will joyn with him for the Defence and Support of his Right. Here he spoke out, and the Pensionary had now no manner of Reason to doubt of his Designs on the Netherlands, which in good Policy he should have prevented by Leagues against France, instead of maintaining a Dangerous and Treacherous one with her. For he had so infatuated his Party, that *D' Estrades* tells the King he might do what he would with them; and in the same Letter shews us what an easie People he had to deal with. They must be in the beginning brought to Things unawares, and when they are once on the way, one may lead them as far as one will. Things going as the *Sieur De Wit* would have them, there were a mean set of Men who in base Complacency to his Fortune, made their Court to him, whom a few Days before they had appear'd against with distinguish-



distinguishing Warmth. For my part, I have often blush'd to see Men of Estates and Character, Courting Persons of none, for no other Reason, but because they were Fortune's Favourites. Where there is not true Merit, which can never be without Sincerity and Honour, the good Days of such Men will certainly be few; and those that comply with them, seldom see the Reward of their Compliance: So hasty is Chance to turn the Wheel, when she has reason to be ashamed of the Person that's a top of it. The War with *England*, had given a terrible Blow to the *Dutch* Navigation, and as the Foundation of the Prosperity of the *Hollanders* is Trade, so when that was shaken, the Fabrick that it supported must be in danger of Ruin. The Publick Credit sunk, and as we may perceive by the *French* Ambassador's Account of things, his own Friends were the Occasion of it. *The great Plenty of Money*, says he, *begins to cease: The Zeal of the City of Amsterdam, to supply the Publick, being decreased, every one keeps his Money close; and all the Millions that Trade brings in don't wag as they did, tho' those that are at the Helm, hide this Change.* It however is a great Trouble to them, what every one feels, is not to be hid along; and 'tis in vain to say we are Rich, when want of Money is the Complaint every where. Few are so sanguine, as to think well of Affairs, when they find the Publick Credit sinking, and the Reasons why it should sink in *Holland* are so plain, we need not give

our selves the trouble to mention them. Whatever Nation has Engagements with *France*, will never have her Credit high; there being something in *French* Councils so Odious, that none will venture their Estates on such a bottom, nor trust those that trust them. The Rage of the *Dutch* Populace began to Flame out; Books were daily dispers'd against the Prime Minister, and some endeavour'd to animate the Mob to rise against him: The worst way in the World of doing Justice; I had rather a Criminal should escape, than the Rabble be his Judge and Executioner; and we can hardly allow of such Madness, even when the whole is at Stake. For whatever the Multitude might be of Old, I never knew them in my Time but Rash, and in the Wrong; and as I detest any Structure that's Built on their Fury, so I should pity that as much which is destroy'd by it. Notwithstanding all this, the Pensionary being possess'd of the whole Ministry, having all Posts and Preferments at his Disposal, seem'd to despise the vain Efforts of his Enemies; and tho' Revenge was one of his prevailing Passions, he affect'd a Moderation that won on many; and he procur'd, as the *French* Ambassador informs us, *Such Deputies to be Chosen in the next Assembly, as were his Friends, and well dispos'd to the French King*; which was a great Comfort to that Minister, who was apprehensive of the contrary; and had Deputies been chosen of another Temper, Supplies would not have been

so certain: And he saw clearly, to use his own Words, That the Funds falling short, the Present Ministry would drop. The Pensionary and the Ambassador acted in Concert, and when the Election of Magistrates in the Cities came on, the latter went from Town to Town, to support the Interest of the former. *I shall do my utmost*, says he, to bring all our Friends into it; yet the things be in a good Disposition, there's a continual Application requisite, that the Face of Affairs may not change. So great is the Liberty in every City, where every one acts according to his Sentiments, and there's no Punishment for those who give ill Impressions of the present Government. 'Tis observable, that wherever the French are concern'd, they are very uneasy at the Liberty of Free States, which will not admit the tying up of the Tongue, and locking up of the Press, as is done where their Tyranny is predominant. 'Twas a great Grief to the Ambassador and the French Faction, that People could not be Punish'd for speaking freely of things on which their own Prosperity, and that of their Posterity depended. It will always be so in ill Governments, none being so much averse to Freedom of Speech, as those to whom it can be of no Service, and of whom every true Word that is said, must be a Satyr; which shews D' Estrades could not think it to be any thing less than Treason or Sedition: For there is hardly an Offence in a Tyrannical Government, which is not Capital.



Capital. Cruelty being as Natural to Tyranny, as Clemency to Liberty.

The French Ambassador had a great deal to do to keep things in order, as may be perceiv'd by what he said above, and by what follows. *There's need of a continual Negotiation with these People, and no certain Measure can be taken on their Constancy, but much is to be hop'd from Monsieur De Wit's Conduct, he having no sure Support, but that of Your Majesty, on which he depends, and acts with Vigour.* Nothing was dreaded by the French Faction, so much as the Re-establishment of the Prince of Orange, whose Ancestors were the Terror of Tyrants. The Prince's Party was so Strong, that Monsieur De Wit, whose Cunning was not greater than his Cowardice, as indeed I never knew a Tricker to have either Honesty or Courage, was often dispirited and astonish'd, when he had Thoughts of complying with the Wishes of all Good Men, and in that Affair, the French Ambassador frighted, or perswaded him out of it, as appears by what he writes Monsieur De Lionne, the 26th of February, 1666. *I have had the good Fortune to recover him, and shew him how advantageous it would be for him to be fix'd and supported by the King. That he may easily see to restore the Prince to his Offices, would be to submit himself to his Enemies, and even fail in Gratitude to his Majesty.* And indeed it was the main Interest of the Pensionary, to prevent the Prince's Succession, there being no manner of hopes, that if he succeeded to his Fathers Offices  
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and Dignities, either *De Wit*, or any of his Faction, would be favour'd by his Highness, whom they had affronted, and done their utmost to hinder his succeeding to the *Stadtholderate*. 'Twas for this Reason chiefly, that the Pensionary espous'd the *French King's* Interests, his own being so closely linkt with that Monarchs. I leave the World to judge whether this was an Honest Common-Wealths Man, as he endeavour'd to have it believ'd he was; and the *French King* was as sollicitous to have Monsieur *De Wit*, and his Party, take him for a Man of Honour, and a Religious Observer of his Word. He order'd his Minister to assure the Pensionary, *He had no Intention to surprize Flanders, and would resolve on nothing in that Affair, but in Concert with him, and by joynt Measures.* We shall see anon, how he kept his Promise, and what Reason the *Hollanders* had to treat *De Wit* almost as bad as they did, for trusting to a King, who thinks it for his Glory not to be bound by such mean things as Promises and Treaties, as will appear in the Course of this Treatise.

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It would be to deny the Pensionary common Justice to question his Capacity: However, those who are well acquainted with his History and Character, find a great deal of Craft in the Composition, and not a little of a Chimerical Genius, which put him on Designs that were Visionary and Fruitless. His Dear Friend the *French Ambassador*, could not help own-  
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ing this in his Letter to the King, of the 22d of July, 1666. *He abounds so in his own Understanding, that it is impossible to gain any thing upon him, whatever Reason is alledg'd; and not knowing any thing of War, and being fond of doing every thing himself, he too easily gives into Proposals that are made to him, and by this I perceive he loses his Credit.* So extravagant was he in his Projects, as to fancy a Dutch Settlement might be made in England, which, says *D' Estrades*, was only a Chimera that occasion'd abundance of things to be said against him. But he had a fast Friend in the French Minister, who was desir'd by him to manage things as well as he could for their Interests; accordingly he wrote his Master, that he should forget nothing which lay in his Power, to break and quash the mighty Faction that had infected the greatest part of the Magistrates.

Wherever French Councils prevail, there follows immediately a Spirit of Persecution and Cruelty; an Instance of which, we have in the Story of an Honest Dutch Gentleman, the *Sieur Du Buat*, who for favouring, and promoting the Design of making a Separate Peace with England, which was the only way to secure Holland, was Arrested by *De Wir's* Procurement, and his Papers seiz'd. This Gentleman had been a Domestick of the Prince of Orange, whose Friends being all turn'd out of his Household, to make room for *De Wir's*, the *Sieur Du Buat* was dismiss'd with the rest. His Affection to his Master, and the True Interest of his Country, made him a fit Object



ject for the Pensionary's Hatred; and being encourag'd in his Cruel Purpose against him, by the French King himself, Poor *Du Bat* had his Head Chop'd off to please his Most Christian Majesty, who tells his Ambassador, *I am very glad of the Resolution the States took to arrest Du Bat*; and he afterwards represents, that the Arresting of him should be follow'd by the Punishment his Treason deserves. As, continues he, *I promise my self it will be from the Justice of the States, their Prudence, and the Consideration of their Honour and Interest.* Pursuant to this Advice, the French Ambassador so bestir'd himself, that he wrote the King for his Comfort in Answer, *It is thought it will go bad with Du Bat, notwithstanding all the contrary Party are indefatigable in their Endeavours to save him.* The Death of this Gentleman, at the Instigation of the French King, will take off much of the Pity, which otherwise would attend the Pensionary's Fate. Such are the Methods of French Government, and Governments influenc'd by it. *Lewis XIV.* not being contented with the Innocent Blood he has spilt in France, but extending his sanguinary Principles wherever he has influence. There were several Magistrates and others, of the Orange Party, whom the Pensionary prosecuted with the same Rigour; and with what an Air of Content does Monsieur *D'Estrades* write to Monsieur de *Lionne*, on that Occasion: *Kivit, Burgomaster of Rotterdam, is condemn'd to be Beheaded, and his Estate confiscated, because he's in England; Vanderhürst,*  
another

another Magistrate of that City, is to be Banish'd for ever, and his Estate forfeited; and a Physician seiz'd, will, it is thought, be Hang'd. No News being so entertaining to the Ministers of France, as that which informs 'em of Sacrifices offer'd up in Blood to their Interests, in Foreign Parts, and no distance of Place makes a Person secure, that is within the reach of their bloody Negotiations. I cannot but take notice of a very just Suspicion of the French King, that his Word wou'd not be taken, and therefore he frankly writes to *D'Estrades*, that *If his Promise wou'd not pass with the States, he shou'd pawn his own Honour for him*, which was one of the hardest pieces of Service he ever put him upon, if the Ambassador had any himself. Tho' he had serv'd him so successfully as to buy *Dunkirk*, and make him Master of a Port which has done the English, that sold it, more Damage in the late War than all the Ports of France besides.

The Pensionary and French Faction, did not carry Matters so plausibly as not to be perceiv'd by all those that wish'd well to their Country, who saw plainly the French King's main Design was, to involve 'em in a War with England, to give him an Opportunity of conquering *Flanders* first, and themselves afterwards, which many did not stick to declare publicly; but *De Witt* told the French Ambassador, *He wou'd easily defeat all Artifices by the dint of Reason, grounded on the Assurance he and the States had of his Majesty's Sincerity in all his Proceedings,* and

and it was not many Weeks, before Lewis XIV. surpriz'd the Spanish Netherlands, broke the Peace, and took Towns and Provinces; that his Secretary, Monsieur de Lionne, wrote then to the Count D'Estrades, *The King is extremely pleas'd with the Measures you have been taking with Monsieur De Wit, to remove the false Impressions the Spanish Ministers have been continually instilling into the People's Minds, as well in regard of the Sincerity of his Majesty's Conduct, which will grow more apparent ev'ry day, in spite of all the Artifices of his Enemy's to the contrary, as of his vast Designs, which is a Chimera.* And in a Letter the King himself wrote to the States he upbraids them with the Disadvantages of a Commonwealth, apt to conceive Jealousies and breed Divisions; *The People being as often liable, says he, to receive false Impressions as true ones, a Misfortune that never happens in Monarchical States, where all is regulated by the Will of the Prince.* Which shews how much better it is to Live under an Absolute Monarchy, than in a Republick. For in the former, People are not allow'd to have any Impressions at all, but those of Obedience to the Prince's Pleasure, who may use them as he thinks fit; and if they admit of any Impression contrary to his Will, they are Cur'd of it by the Gallows or Gallies; whereas in a Republick, People are so Sawcy as to make use of their Reason, which the French King says is as often wrong as right. But a Monarch is infallible, and indeed how can it be otherwise, where Reason is not the Rule, and every thing



thing he Wills is Legal. However there will be found those that will Comment on the Actions of Princes, and bring 'em to the Standard of Truth, which they and their Ministers call Sedition, and the Writings that have a Tendency thereto, Libels. Several Books were Publish'd in *Holland*, against the *French Alliance*, which the Pensionary suppress. Nay, so very complaisant was that Minister, that he would not suffer any thing to be Printed that reflected on *Persons of Quality in France*. Something of that kind being done, a Memorial was immediately given in by the *French Ambassador*, to have the *Author and Publishers brought to Exemplary Punishment*. The *French* being ever impatient of the least Liberty of the Press; and all that imitate their Politicks, will be sure to exercise their Tyranny in an Exemplary manner on that Freedom, which never was a Friend to Arbitrary Principles, and has been a greater Plague to Tyrannical Governments, than ever Arms were. 'Tis our Happiness in *England*, to have the Press Free, and it will always be so in Governments where the Law presides. There such Freedom can never be prejudicial, for no Body was ever afraid of the Press, that could venture their Actions to be try'd by an Impartial Judge.

Of all the Malicious Reports of the *Orange Party*, against the Most Christian King, nothing sure cou'd be so groundless, as what his Minister at the *Hague* tells his Secretary in *France*, that most People

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believ'd his Master and the King of England were in a League together, and that the little he had done for the Dutch, was only a Colour. My Answer, says D'Estrades, was, that I knew nothing of it, and saw no manner of Foundation it had. A Book came out about the same time, pretending to set forth the Queen's Right to Part of the Netherlands, during her Brother's Life Time, which the Ambassador being told of, he reply'd, there was a Necessity to acquaint the World with the Justice of the Queen's Pretensions, because the Spaniards had endeavour'd to invalidate the Reason of them; that was all. His Master intended only to prove his Title by force of Argument, as the least he could do, and the States were bound in Gratitude to approve of it, and to Fight for him to support such uncontestable Rights, as the Sister's succeeding before the Brother, notwithstanding Sex and Oaths, Treaties and Renunciations. He adds further, as to any Secret Understanding between his Majesty and the King of England, there was no need of making any Answer at all, since it carry'd a Self-Contradiction in it, and his Majesty's Sincerity was too well known in the World, to be suspected of any such Collusion, Monsieur De Wit would not give up himself so entirely to be Govern'd by this Minister, as to say it was impossible for such a thing to happen, considering what a Sincere Monarch they had to do with; but he gave him to understand, he should be the last that should hear of it. One never cares to think ill of ones Friend, but the Most Christian King

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King having done nothing against his *Britannick* Majesty worth speaking of in all the War. If the Pensionary had been out of the first, it would have agreed better with the Character he has left behind him.

A Treaty of Peace being set on Foot, and a Place to be Nam'd for the Congress, *Hague* was thought of, but the *French* did not care to have it in a Place, where it was probable the *English* Ministers would have Powerful Seconds against *France*, if there were any Dispositions in the Court of *England*, to prevent the Loss of *Flanders*. The *English* they knew, were hearty for the Preservation of the *Low Countries*, by a War, and the *French* Ministers thought it their Interest to hinder any Correspondence between the *English* and *Dutch*, as much as they could; wherefore *De Lionne*, Secretary of State, endeavour'd to intimidate *De Wit*, that he might not accept of the *Hague* for the Place of Treaty; and does it in a manner which discovers the good Opinion he had of our Morals, as well as our Understandings. His Expressions to *D'Estrades*, are as follow: His Majesty is afraid the King of *England* was advis'd to propose the *Hague*, by one of the very States in the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, and he is sensible that all is Levell'd at *Monsieur De Wit's* Credit and Authority, which his Majesty is resolv'd to maintain; a Man who understands the *English* perfectly well, and knows what they are capable of doing, told me this morning, that in case their Ambassadors were admitted to the *Hague*, *Monsieur De Wit's* Person



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Person would be in Danger. As he is seldom upon his Guard, I am of Opinion 'tis a thing not unlikely, for the English are sensible such an Action would shock the State. He meant no more, nor no less, than that my Lord Hollis, and Mr. Coventry, who were the English Ambassadors, would procure the Pensionary to be Stabb'd; an Action no Party but a French one would ever Countenance, and which such Men as my Lord and his Colleague are incapable of. Besides, as much Mischief as the Prince of Orange's Friends might think *De Wits* had done, they were Men of too much Honour to take him off so basely; nor was he a Person of that Importance, as to have Noble Hands Stain'd with his Blood. But the French Faction were always ready to load their Opponents with the very Crimes they only could be Guilty of. The Opinion still prevail'd, That there was an underband Agreement between the French King, and the King of England, and that what was done by the former, was only for Show. When the Negotiations of Peace began, the Pensionary gave the French constant Advice of the Proceedings in England. For which says that Monarch, I can't sufficiently express how much Monsieur De Wit's Free and Honest Behaviour has oblig'd me. And again, Faint of assuring Mr. De Wit, that I am highly oblig'd to him, as he doubtless was; for before *Lewis XIV.* invaded the Netherlands the Pensionary declar'd it as his Opinion that in Consideration of the Queen's Pretensions, which both King and Queen had

so Solemnly renounc'd, a proper Satisfaction should be given his Majesty, by yielding up some Places in the Low Countries: And in return for this Friendly Disposition, His Most Christian Majesty, with great Harmony, writes his Ambassador, *This I can tell you before-hand, they will always find me ready to come to an Accommodation upon very moderate Terms; and, I am not for breaking the Peace, unless Spain forces me to it.* And when he actually March'd into the Netherlands, at the Head of a Numerous Army, He wrote to the Queen of Spain, *We have no Design on our Part, of infringing the Peace, by our Marching into the Low Countries, at the Head of our Army; which is so agreeable to common Sense and common Modesty, that nothing can be like it.* With the same Letter, he sent the Book that prov'd his Queen's Rights, as evident as Proof could make it, effectually answering the *Frivolous Objections* contain'd in some Libels Publish'd by the Governour of Flanders; such as the King of Spain's being Heir to the Netherlands, in a direct Line from Mary of Burgundy, the Pyrenean Treaty, the Renunciation, and the like; which in the Stile of the French Court and Ministry, must be Libels, because True; and Frivolous, because against 'em. The Queen of Spain depending on her Son's Right, and the French King's Oaths to preserve the Pyrenean Treaty, and the Act of Renunciation, answer'd with equal Majesty and Justice, *That She would in no manner, nor upon any Consideration whatever, enter upon a Discussion of*

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that Affair, nor Treat, or agree upon any thing relating to those Claims, which she knew had no Foundation. This was with Lewis XIV. sufficient Ground to March his Army into the Spanish Netherlands, to take Towns, Countries, and all without any the least Design of infringing the Peace. So it is, that Absolute Monarchs argue at the Head of their Armies, not contenting themselves with Enslaving Men's Bodies, they enslave also their Minds. This was the Proof of the Validity of his Demands; this was his Sincere Proceeding with the Pensionary and the Dutch, whom he promis'd not to Invade the Low Countries, without Communication and Concert with them. Yet such was De Wit's Fears of the Prince of Orange's, and the Spanish Party, that even now he was Deaf to all the Offers from Spain, for the Preservation of the Netherlands, and seem'd rather willing to give the French King more than he askt, than force him to be content with less. The Memorial of the Spanish Ambassador, as Just and Reasonable as it was, had no Effect, nor would he hearken to any Body but the Count D Estrades, who had so often promis'd him his Masters Protection. The Spanish Memorial was sufficient to have alarm'd him, had he not been so entire a Friend to the French King, it containing these evident Truths. The King of France acting in so Violent a manner, makes it evidently appear to the Lords the States, what by our Example they ought to expect, seeing that if the Deceased King had no Right to Convey



to his Son what belong'd to him in Brabant, he could much less have any to yield to the Lords the States, what they possess of that Duchy; because 'tis more necessary to alienate them to possess. If Friendship, Relation, a Treaty so Solemn as that of Munster, and that of the Pyrenees, be Violated, and so express a Renunciation as that of the King and Queen of France be deny'd, the States General may easily see what they are to expect, as to their own Particular, since what they possess, is not Renounc'd, to which the French aspire to set up an Universal Monarchy. 'Tis now Time to think of the Common Cause, and provide for its Defence. This Piece contains so many Curious Things, that it will not be improper to insert more of it. This being the French King's Aim, he hath procur'd with a premeditated and private Design, a War with England, to weaken the United Provinces, and after to Tyrannize over both, being both unprovided, and the States weary of the War, &c. This makes it evidently appear, that they seek Pretexes to lull Asleep those they will attack after us, in the same manner, and with the same Injustice. Let any one say then if ever there were seen the like Proceedings, to Violate so Solemn a Treaty of Peace, after a Renunciation, wherein was nothing omitted to avoid this Accident, and in which the Most Christian King entirely consented; and the Queens Majesty his Spouse, before and after the Marriage; having been not only accepted and comprehended in the Treaty of Peace, but moreover approv'd by the Parliament of Paris. Since he has begun to Usurp Countries by Arms, he says, he does not design to break

break the Peace, &c. The Lords the States, can no longer doubt that he, who disowns the Renunciation, breaks Friendship, and Violates a Treaty Sworn, will treat you in the same manner as us; and may well consider what his Design must be, and that he has a mind to swallow us up first, and the others after. In short your State may manage this Matter with your usual Prudence, and if we cannot obtain any thing of our Neighbours, who are concern'd in the Common Cause, they can't complain, if we are destroy'd, that we have not warn'd them in time to avoid their Ruine. Yet all this made no Impression on the Pensionary, who fear'd nothing so much, as the prevailing of the Spanish Party, which would certainly be attended with the Restauration of the Prince of Orange. Thus far the Private Interest of one Man, was the Liberty and Safety of the most Flourishing Republick in the World endanger'd. He was as sensible as any Body could be, of the French King's double dealing with them, in Invading Flanders, as also of the Weakness of his Pretensions, as may be seen by what he told the French Ambassador, who writes thus of him to Monsieur De Lionne; He says that the Right in Question is New, and not Confirm'd; that out of Discretion, the States past by in Silence many Reasons of Complaint; that one of the Principal was, the having begun a War after having both by Word of Mouth and Writing, promis'd that the King would not undertake it, without their Participation; and that his Army March'd into Flanders, at the same time that his Majesty signifi'd his Pretensions;

tensions; that by the Treaty of the Pyrenees, 'tis Stipulated that in case of any Quarrel, no Party should proceed to Arms before Six Months after the beginning of it; during which, Endeavours were to be made to terminate Differences; and that they knew nothing of the King's Complaints, any otherwise than by his entering Flanders, at the Head of 40000 Men, and by the taking of 5 or 6 of the most considerable Towns of the Low Countries. However, such was the Pensionary's Power over the Deputies, such his Partiality to France, that D' Estrades writes in the very same Letter, On the Umbrages the States took, as he had reason to believe by several Complaints which they made him in the Conferences, which he had with the Ministers of the German Princes, he could yet assure me as a Man of Honour, that there was nothing pass'd but what was to the advantage of his Majesty, and tended to unite and act together against the Spaniards, &c. For which he had no manner of Reason, were it not to preserve his Administration of the Government, and support the contrary Party. By this means all the Provinces were oblig'd to follow the Sentiments of that of Holland, which is the most Powerful and Rich, and that was Govern'd by Monsieur De Wit, who manag'd it as he pleas'd. Upon this, the French Ambassador tells us in one of his Letters, Monsieur De Wit is full of Ambition, and would above all things, preserve the Authority he has acquir'd. And speaking of the Negotiation at Brada, he adds, He fears if it was concluded, He should  
not



not then be wanted so much, and would become a *Prisoner Man*. Nay, that he may be oblig'd to give Account of his Actions, and be Try'd for several Things he had done against the Form of the Government. To this end, he pack'd the Assemblies perpetually, and not being able to carry the Election of *Wurix* to Command the Army, instead of the Prince of Orange, whom the Cities demanded, he got the Assembly to break up one Session, that he might concert his Measures better against the next. In the mean time, says the French Ambassador on this Head, We are assur'd the said De Wit will meet with great Opposition, and that the greatest part of the Cities demand the Prince of Orange for their General, and see plainly the *Sieur De Wit's* opposing it hitherto, under colour of the Prince's near Relation to the King of England, will not pass; the said Prince behaving himself extremely well, and, on all Occasions, shewing the Cities and People, he has no Interest but that of the State, and will be govern'd by the Instructions of the *Tutors* the State has appointed him; which makes the most clear sighted perceive the *Sieur De Wit* acts out of Passion and Interest, against the said Prince of Orange. Spain might be lost, and *France* Reign ev'ry where; the Prince must not succeed, nor the Pensionary lose his Post; which he knew he would do, as soon as the Prince's Succession to his Father's Offices was determin'd. Thus a personal Pique or private Interest of one Republican, was like to have ruin'd his own Country, and with that all Europe; yet he is generally cry'd up as an excellent States-

Statesman; and the best Friend to *Holland* that she ever was blest with, as if he alone had preserv'd the old Constitution; which the House of *Orange*, that establish'd it, wou'd have destroy'd. Nor was his Hatred to that House confin'd to the Person of the Prince, it extended to all who wish'd well to his Succession; and we may observe what he wou'd have had done with them, by his Inveteracy against *Lucas*, and the Magistrates of *Rotterdam*, who had fled into *England*. When the Peace was negotiating at *Breda*, it had like to have broken off for the *English* Ambassador's insisting on an Amnesty for those Two Gentlemen, whose only Crime was their Love to *England* and the Prince. This Amnesty was propos'd for both Nations, but the Pensionary wou'd not hearken to it. The States, says Monsieur D'Estrades, had rather abandon a Hundred *English* and *Scots* Officers, who have been in their Service, and suffer their Estates to be confiscated, than consent to the usual Clause of Amnesty, for restoring the Estates of such as have serv'd on both sides; and that for fear Two of their Subjects, who fled to *England* when *De Ruut* was executed, should enjoy the Benefit of it, Monsieur de Bevington own'd himself, it was a Shame; but at the same time said, he was not Master. We see plainly whence it comes, and that a private Interest prevents the Honour and Reputation the States ought to maintain in the Publick.

Having said so much of *Holland*, on the French King's first Pretensions to any part of the

the *Spanish* Monarchy, and of the Fraudulent Ways he took to possess himself of it, I shall now hint a little of the Disposition of *England*, not only as it appears in our own *Memoirs*, but in those of our Enemies, and of a Person who having been the *French* Ambassador in *England*, before he went to *Holland*, may be suppos'd to know as much of King *Charles II.*'s Mind, as any one. 'Tis in *D' Estrades* Letter to the King of the 21<sup>st</sup> of *July*, 1667. after the Invasion of *Flanders*, and the States Proposal of a Partion of it in Favour of *France*. If the King of *England* will take the same Resolution he did when I was Ambassador there, not to pretend to any thing in *Flanders*, but to assist your Majesty with all his Power to conquer it, provided you wou'd assist him with 10000 Foot, and some Horse, in case his Subjects revolt, one need not mind the States. When the Prince of *Orange* was preparing, after he had deliver'd his own Country from Slavery, to do us the same Favour in *England*, the *French* King teas'd King *James* with Offers of Succours, but his Council, even at that time when almost all *England* were prepar'd to embrace the Relief they expected from our Deliverer, wou'd not hear of any *French* Auxiliaries; which King *Charles* was for securing Two or Three Years after the Restoration, when the *English* Loyalty was at the Height, and the King had done nothing to disoblige his Objects, but the selling *Dunkirk*. This very Passage proves more to me of the close Correspondence of the Two Courts, than all the *Secret Histories* that



that have been publish'd ; and had not a considerable part of *D'Estrades* Letters been sunk at the Press at *Brussels*, it is not to be doubted but we shou'd have a more perfect Idæa of the Intrigues between the *French* Factions in *England* and *Holland*, and the Court of *France*. The *Dutch* have a Maxim in their Politicks, never to offend an Enemy farther than by the Events of War, nor to provoke him by Words or Writings, more than is necessary to maintain their present Dispute ; and this was the Occasion of gelding and sinking several of *D'Estrades* Letters which were stol'n out of the *French* King's Library, with other Manuscripts, by a Person that pretended to be a Convert. If we had these Letters entire, 'tis not to be question'd but some of the choicest Secrets in the Ministries of *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, wou'd have been brought to light. If *Lewis* XIV. cou'd not conquer the Country he had renounc'd, *Charles* II. offers to help him, provided he sends him Ten or Twelve Thousand good *Frenchmen*, to assist his Loyal Subjects. Who they were his Majesty thought of using them against, I can't imagine ; for at that time all *England* rejoyc'd in their Deliverance from the late Usurpation and Anarchy. But the Court knew best what measures they intended to take, and of what Service an Army of *Frenchmen* wou'd be to them. And this Secret Alliance will be demonstrated past all Contradiction in the following Pages. This Inclination of the Court of *England* pro-

proceeded from the King and his Brother's Education by *Henrietta Maria* of France, their Mother, who always instill'd into 'em an Affection for that Nation and Government, otherwise King *Charles* would never have forgotten the Disgrace put upon him and his Brother by the French King, after his Treaty with *Cromwel*, nor the French Court's opposing his Restauration by their Ambassador *Bourdeaux*, whose Brigues were so well known to the King of England, that he wou'd not see him, but commanded him away. *D'Estrades* had better luck here, and for Five Millions of Livers purchased *Dunkirk*, which has been Twenty Millions Sterling to the Damage of England, in the late Wars. Many were the Arts they us'd, to raise Jealousies between us and the *Hollanders*, dreading nothing more than a durable and firm Friendship between Two Nations, who, if united, might easily set what Bounds they pleas'd to their Ambition. At last they sided with the *Dutch*, as a good Author observes,

" Tho' with no other Intention than to  
 " see us destroy each other, or at least  
 " so far weaken and exhaust our selves,  
 " that they might with less Opposition in-  
 " vade their Neighbours, and increase  
 " their Naval Strength: Nay their Policy  
 " went farther, and in the Heat of the War  
 " they still kept Negotiations afoot, and  
 " made Overtures and Proposals of Peace,  
 " by means of the late Queen-Mother,  
 " whom in the End they deceiv'd so far,  
 " as to assure her (and by her, his Majesty,  
 " that

“ that the *Dutch* wou’d set no Fleet out  
 “ that Summer) the Peace was concluded ;  
 “ while underhand they press’d them with  
 “ all the Vigour and Earnestness imagina-  
 “ ble, to fit out their Ships, with a Pro-  
 “ mise of joining theirs to them. Upon  
 “ this Paroll of the *French* Court, ’tis too  
 “ well known, we had no Fleet out, as  
 “ well as what follow’d upon it, when the  
 “ *Dutch*, meeting with no Opposition,  
 “ enter’d into the River of *Chatham*, &c.”

And tho they dissembled in the Conduct of  
 the War against us in *Europe*, and contented  
 themselves with seeing our Ships burnt  
 and our Ports insulted by the *Hollanders* ;  
 in *America* they persw’d it heartily, and  
 took from us *St. Christophers* and the *Leeward*  
*Islands* ; nor did they surrender the former,  
 notwithstanding they had agreed to do it  
 by the Treaty of *Brada*, till we were about  
 joining heartily with them against the  
*Dutch* ; and when they did surrender it,  
 they destroy’d all the Plantations, plun-  
 der’d and carry’d away all that was port-  
 able, leaving it in a much worse Condition  
 than if it had never been planted. They  
 interrupted the Trade of the *English* in  
 those Parts, assuming to themselves the  
 Sovereignty of those Seas, not suffering  
 any Ships but their own to sail by or about  
 their Islands. Upon no other ground did  
 they take Prizes and confiscate several  
 Vessels. Add to all this the great Duties  
 they laid upon our Merchandize in *France*,  
 which was as bad as a Prohibition ; while  
 we continu’d to trade with ’em for ready  
 Money



Money, to the value of a Million yearly. And what was more mischievous than all the rest, were their continual Intrigues to poison the Councils of *England*, and draw off the Court from the true Interests of the Nation. However, no Court nor Country was in such high Esteem as the *French*, with the King, his Brother, and all his Party, on what Account we shall see when we come to treat of the Private Engagements they enter'd into with the *French* King, Two or Three Years after.

There was no greater Mischief done the Two Nations of *England* and *Holland*, by their Unnatural War, than giving the *French* King an Opportunity to encrease his Shipping and Naval Stores, as he did in a scandalous manner, in *Holland*, by means of *De Wit*, and in *England*, by means of the Faction there. In *Holland*, the *French* King, in the Years 1666 and 1667, got Twelve stout Men of War to be built for him by the Colleges of Admiralty, and bought as many more great Merchant Ships, which he converted to Men of War. Besides this, there was exported thence to *France*, within the compass of Two Years and half 300000 Pound Weight of Match, 400000 Pound Weight of Powder, 200 Casks of Pitch and Tar, 400000 Weight of Iron for Bullets, 6000 Hand-Granadoes, which I find specify'd; Two Galliot were sold him for his Fleet, and Thirteen Fly-boats; and Five Pinks laden at several times with Plank, Cordage, Masts, Nails, Iron, Sails, and all sorts of Utenfils for Building.

Building. The French Faction in *Holland* forgetting themselves so far, as to permit the *East and West-India Company*, at *Paris*, to furnish themselves with Ships, Stores, and all Necessaries for their carrying on a Trade in those Parts of the World. Two great Ships of 600 Tons each, Six great Flyboats, One of 150; and Two small Men of War were fitted out in *Holland*, for the Service of those Two Companies; than which nothing cou'd be more opposite to the true Policy of *Holland*, to assist a Nation of such mighty Advantages as the *French*, to share with them in the Commerce of the World, the only Advantage the *Dutch* have. The Faction not only permitted these Ships to be thus loaden, for the King and Company's use, but supply'd them with Pilots, and went so far as allow *Lewis XIV.* to erect a Foundery for Ship-Cannon at *Amsterdam*. So highly did the *French King* value his affected Declaration against the *English*, that immediately upon it he demanded full Liberty, notwithstanding all Prohibitions of the States to buy Ships and Stores; and his Magazines, as well in the West of *France*, as at *Dunkirk*, were furnish'd almost entirely in *Holland*, where he had an Agent, *Monsieur de la Garde Belin*, settled for that purpose; and other Factors employ'd under him, who bought Ships and Stores; rais'd Seamen, and did what he pleas'd for the Service of the *French Fleet*.

The Partisans of *France*, in *England*, were as forward to assist the *French King*

to enlarge his Naval Strength. An Author of Note, who wrote in those Times, tells us, *His Majesty's Magazines were daily employ'd to furnish the French with all sorts of Ammunition, of which the following Note contains but a small Parcel, in comparison of what was daily convey'd away under colour of Cocks, for Jersey, and other Places.*

A Short Account of some Ammunition, &c. Exported from the Port of London to France, from June 1675. to June 1677.

*History of Peace with France, and War with Hol-land.* **G**ranadoes, without Number, ship'd off as Gunwrought Iron; 21 Tons of Lead-shot, 7134 Barrells of Gun powder, 18 Tons 600 Weight of Iron-shot, 88 Tons 1000 Weight of Mutch, 292 Tons 900 Weight of Iron Ordnance; Carriages, Bandeliers, &c. uncertain.

*Appeal from the Private Cabal to the Parliament.*

Another Writer on this Subject has the following Reflections: "Wou'd any Man that judges things according to the Ordinary Rules of Prudence have thought that, in order to secure to our selves the Sovereignty of the Sea, we should with so much Industry, endeavour to force all the Dutch Ships, with all their Naval Power, into the French Arms? We have been often told of brisk Messengers, sent formerly to the French Kings, as soon as they did but lay the Carcass of some pitiful Ship upon the Stocks, but we did never so much as

"dream



“ dream that Vice-Admirals, and other  
 “ considerable Sea-Officers, should be sent  
 “ to the *French* Court, to encourage and  
 “ promote the setting out of their Fleets;  
 “ that pitying their want of Experience in  
 “ Sea Affairs, we wou’d, out of Compas-  
 “ sionate and Brotherly love, lead the raw  
 “ Seamen by the Hand, train them up in  
 “ our Fleets, and, amongst the best of  
 “ our Seamen, teach them what Skill we  
 “ have learnt in a long and dear bought  
 “ Experience; and to crown all, even  
 “ fight for them, and interpose between  
 “ them and Danger, with so good success  
 “ (as it prov’d) that the *French* Squadron  
 “ (as if the Engagement had been only  
 “ design’d for our Entertainment and Di-  
 “ version to them) came off as fresh and  
 “ as whole as when they first sail’d out of  
 “ their Ports,” &c. For, as we have ob-  
 “ serv’d already, there were many good *En-*  
 “ *lishmen*, and good *Dutchmen*, who saw what  
 “ those that had the Administration of Affairs  
 “ aim’d at, the making their own Fortunes,  
 “ or pleasing their Passions, at the Ex-  
 “ pence of Religion, Liberty, and ev’ry  
 “ thing that’s held Dear and Sacred by Man-  
 “ kind. So well the *French* King’s Ministers  
 “ knew how to improve to their own Ends,  
 “ any Disposition of those they had to deal  
 “ with, that nothing cou’d happen more a-  
 “ greeable to them, than the Duke of *Tork*’s  
 “ invincible Hatred to the *Dutch*, and De-  
 “ vot’ns to the *English*; both that Prince and  
 “ the Pensionary having the greatest, if not  
 “ the only, Influence, in the Management

of the Affairs of the Two Nations; yet both acted with the most different Views that ever animated Two Persons; the one being to enslave his Country, and the other, to preserve his free; tho' his Zeal was ill grounded, and he acted on mistaken Principles, his Pique and Prejudice blinding that Judgment which was of it self the most clear sighted and penetrating of any of his Time. The Story of this Man, is one of the most apparent Evidences of the Wretched Condition of Politicians; what a Constraint they are oblig'd to put upon themselves, how to force Nature, and act Parts they abhor, to accomplish their Designs. No body doubts but the Pensionary wou'd have been much better pleas'd, if he cou'd have effected his, by any other Interest than that of the *French*; That he was, in the main, as stanch a Republican as his Father had been, and wou'd have been as true a Lover of his Country, if it wou'd have answer'd his ambitious Views, to which every other Consideration was to give place. This brings to my Remembrance a good Reasoning of Sir *William Temple*, on the like Occasion. He is speaking of such as sacrifice the Publick to their Pride, Avarice, or Revenge; and it must be own'd, that Pique and Resentment have frequently as great share in the Revolutions that happen in States, as any other Passions; When, says Sir *William*, Complaints and Discontents are sown among well meaning Men, they are sure to be cultivated by others that are ill and interested, and who cover

their own Ends under those of the Publick, and by the Good and Service of the Nation mean nothing but their own. The Practice begins of Knaves upon the Fools, of Artificial and Crafty Men upon the Simple and Good; these easily follow and are caught, while the others lay Trains and pursue a Gain wherein they design no other share than of Zeal to their Country and danger, to their Company, but the Gain and the Quarry wholly to themselves. They blow up Sparks that fall in by chance, or cou'd not be avoided, or else throw them in wherever they find the Stubble is dry: They find out Miscarriages wherever they are, and forge them often where they are not: They quarrel first with the Officers, and then with the Prince or the State; sometimes with the Execution of Laws, and at others with the Institutions: how Ancient and Sacred soever. They make Fears pass for Dangers, and Appearances for Truth; represent Misfortunes for Faults, and Mole-hills for Mountains; and by the Persuasions of the Vulgar and Pretences of Patriots, or Lovers of their Country, at the same time they undermine the Credit and Authority of the Government, and set up their own. This raises a Faction between those Subjects that wou'd support it, and those that wou'd ruin it, or rather between those that possess the Honours and Advantages of it, and those that under Pretence of Reforming, design only or chiefly to change the Hands it is in, and care little what becomes of the rest. If Sir William Temple had written these Observations on the very Subject that oblig'd me to take Pen in Hand, he cou'd not have adapted them better, they are so like they seem to be



born of it, but much more those that follow: *When this Fire is kindled, both sides enflame it, all Care of the Publick is laid aside, and nothing is persued but the Interest of the Factions; all regard of Merit is lost in Persons employ'd, and those only chosen that are true to the Party; and all the Talent requir'd is to be hot, to be heady, to be violent of one side or other. How aptly is this accommodated to the Times that occasion'd the writing this Treatise; one would think that the following Reflections were written on them and no other: When these Storms are rais'd, the Wise and the Good are disgrac'd or laid aside, or retire of themselves, and leave the Scene free to such as are most eager or most active to get upon the Stage, or find most Men ready to help them. The dangerous Consequences of such Factionous Administrations are shewn in what he observes further upon it. From these Seeds grow Popular Commotions, and at last Seditions, which so often end in some fatal Periods of the best Governments, in some strong Convulsions and Revolutions of State, and many times make way for new Institutions and Forms, never intended by those who first began or promoted them, and often determine either in setting up some Tyranny at Home or bringing in some Conquest from Abroad for the Animosities and Hatred of the Factions grow so great, that they will submit to any Power the most Arbitrary and Foreign, rather than yeild to any opposite Parry at Home; and are of the Mind of a great Man, in one of our neighbour Countries, who, upon such a Conjunction said; If he must be eaten up, he wou'd rather shew'd be by Wolves than by Rats. What admirable*

mirable Observations he made on the Conduct of the Pensioner himself, and what an excellent Pre-judgment of his Fate will be mention'd hereafter. I must now continue the Secret History of that Minister, and the strict Engagements I find him in *France*, which were the sole Reason of his Misfortunes.

Peace being made at *Breda* between *England* and *Holland*, and the *French* King having over-run a great part of the *Netherlands*, a Book was publish'd, written by the Baron de *Ifola*, then in *England*, in answer to one the *French* King had caus'd to be put out to justify his Conduct in that Matter, which was not in the power of Humane Wit to do. The World cou'd not be satisfy'd that his Invading *Flanders* with so great Forces, and taking the best Town there, was not a Breach of the Peace. Neither cou'd they believe the Non-payment of part of the Queen's Portion, render'd the Renunciation invalid. Neither cou'd they imagine the *Pyrenean* Treaty was not infring'd, when 'twas stipulated there, that either Side shou'd have Six Months time to end Matters of Debate by the Ways of Argument, before either of 'em came to Action; yet he gave no manner of notice of it to the *Dutch* or *Spaniards*, till he had executed what he intended. On the contrary, the Archbishop of *Ambrun*, his Ambassador in *Spain*, after the *French* Army was already in the Field, and had possess'd *Charleroy*, Four or Five Days before the News of it came to

*Madrid*, did, in *verbo Sacerdotis*, and upon all that is most Sacred among the *Roman* *Catholicks*, protest and vow to the *Queen* *Regent*, that his Master intended nothing less than what was reported of him, and won'd never break with the *King of Spain*, or invade his *Dominions*, as long as he was under Age; but the *March* of the *French* *Army*, and the *Hostilities* they committed, agreeing so little with their *Promises*, the same being complain'd of, they answer'd, *It was no Breach of the Peace*, and that they only went to take possession of what belong'd to them. This War, or, as the *French* term it, this friendly way of possessing themselves of the *Spanish* *Dominions*, ended by the *Treaty of Aix*; after which, contrary to the *Treaty* it self, they dismantled all the strong Places and Holds of the *County of Burgundy*, and carry'd away all the *Ammunition*. They also exacted great *Contributions* from the *Dutchies* of *Lymburgh* and *Luxemburgh*. They laid a new *Claim* to some *Towns* as important as any of those granted them by the *Peace*. They confiscated the *Estates* of the *Subjects* of the *King of Spain*, and did not spare the very *Royal House of Marimont*: Thus they dealt with the *Spaniards*. And we shall now take a *View* of their *Dealings* with other *Nations*, which will prove the *Correspondence* that must have been between the *French* *Factions* in *England* and *Holland*, and the *French* *Court*; for so many *Treaties* broken, so many *Oaths* falsify'd, so many *Acts of Violence*, could not but have



have alarm'd both those States, had not the *Prime Ministers* been corrupted by the Court of *France*.

The Duke of *Lorraine* was by the *Pyrenean Treaty*, to be restor'd to his Dutchy, with all the Places and Towns he had possesst in the Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*. But *France*, after the Execution of the other Articles of that Treaty, deferr'd as long as she could, the Performance of that part which related to the Duke, forcing him to make another Treaty, by which she compell'd him to part with several considerable Places, besides what had been granted to her by the General Peace. Then after an Year and half unsettled Possession, during which, under unjust Pretences, new Quarrels were every day pickt with him, a *French Army* Invaded his Dominions, and took his best Town *Marsal*. All this not satisfying the King, he forc'd the Duke to Sign a New Treaty, still more disadvantageous than the two former. The *French* encroach'd daily upon his Jurisdiction, the Limits of his Territories, and his Sovereignty it self: They impos'd heavy Taxes on his Subjects; they caus'd him to disband his Forces, and to raise new Men again as they thought fit. In short, he was all this while more a Vassal to *France*, than a Sovereign. *Louis XIV.* not content even with all this, and resenting that his Obedience was not as Blind as he would have had it, order'd one of his Generals to seize his Person, which was very near being effected.

We

We must not omit to speak of the Kingdom of *Poland*, which lay Bleeding from the time it had a *French* Queen, and a *French* Cabal, who call'd in the *Turks*, because they could not have a King of *French* Blood, or of *French* Interest. In the meantime, the Court of *France* Flatter'd the Duke of *Newburgh* with hopes of that Crown, causing him to Mortgage part of his Estate, almost beyond Redemption, while underhand, contrary to Treaties, as well with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, as with the Duke of *Newburgh*, and to their repeated Promises and Vows, *Viva Voce*, and by Writing, they did by their Creatures and Agents oppose the Duke's Election, and endeavour'd with all Industry, to have the Prince of *Conde* chosen.

As to the Emperor, 'tis notoriously known, that *Lewis XIV.* held a Correspondence with the Counts *Serini*, *Frangipani*, *Nadasti* and *Totenbach*, the first Malecontents that disturb'd the Peace of *Hungary*. This Correspondence was confest by some Accomplices who had been Instrumental in carrying both Money and Letters from the *French* Ministers at *Vienna*, to the Conspirators.

Now it was that *Lewis XIV.* made the nearest Approach to the *Universal Monarchy*. *England* and *Holland* he was sure of, by *De Wit* and *Arlington's* Factions. *Spain* by its own Weakness. *Poland* was promis'd him, in the Election of a *French* Prince. The Empire he had embroil'd by private Intreagues and Treaties with several

veral Princes, contrary to the Peace of *Munster*; yet neither the *English* nor *Dutch* Ministers, would open their Eyes to see the Danger that threaten'd 'em. Blinded as they were by *French* Gold, and out of Hatred to those that oppos'd them at Home.

We have seen what an Enemy the Treasurer *Clifford* in *England* was to the *Dutch*, and it was not doubted but the Chancellor *Hyde* hated them as mortally, tho' he had the Cunning to conceal it better, that Aversion being not very Popular. *Monk* having met with some ill Treatment when he was only a Subaltern in the *Netherlands*, remember'd it now he was General, and being a Man of no great Depth, could not dissemble his Sentiments, which were always warm against the *Hollanders*. The *Spanish* Party in *England*, were those who wish'd well to the Liberty of *Europe*, and to the Protestant Religion, which they knew would be utterly destroy'd, whenever *France* was Master of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and had no Power to Ballance its own. The People were generally against the *Dutch* War at last, however they had been at first impos'd upon to approve of it, and those that had most Interest in them, were for Leaguings with *Spain*, for the Preservation of *Flanders*. The Count *D' Estrades* informs us, that it was by the Intrigues of the Count *De Molina*, and the Baron *Isola*, that Chancellor *Hyde* was disgrac'd, but we can hardly think any thing Good was intended by it, when the

Chief



Chief Promoter of it was Mr. Edward Seymour, whose whole Life cannot produce one Action, that tended to the good of the Common-Wealth. Among all the Charges that were brought against the Chancellor, none seem'd to affect him more, than that the 16th Article against him was, *That he had deluded and betrayed his Majesty and the Nation, in all Foreign Treaties and Negotiations, relating to the late War; and betray'd and discover'd his Majesty's secret Councils to his Enemies.* To which he thus answer'd; *In my humble Opinion, the great Misfortunes of the Kingdom have proceeded from the War, to which it is notoriously known, that I was always most averse, &c.* And again, *As I did from my Soul abhor the Entering into this War, so I presum'd never to give any Advice or Counsel for the way of managing it, but by opposing many Propositions which seem'd to the late Lord*  
 \* *Treasurer and my self to be unreasonable. Whether the Reader will rather believe his Lordship in his Adversity, than in his Prosperity, is left to him, and to determine whose Credit is best, that of a Repenting Minister, or one in high Favour, both in the French Court, and the Court of England; yet not so consider'd in that of France, as Monsieur De Wit, whose own Interest was more Ally'd to the French Kings. However the Dutch were so terrifi'd at the French Conquests in the Netherlands, that De Wit was forc'd to agree to a hasty Treaty with England to that End, into which Sweden enter'd, and thence was*  
 \* *The Earl of Southampton.] Form'd*

Form'd the Famous *Triple League*, which would betimes have put a Stop to the growing Greatness of *France*, had *England* and *Sweden* been in earnest. The *French* Ambassador in *Holland*, soon perceiv'd the Engagements the *Dutch* were about entering into with the *English*; but yet I cannot think he was very apprehensive of the Consequences of it. The *French* King knowing that whatever Publick Alliances might be made in Complaisance to the Clamours of both Nations, the Ministry was his own, and he could receive no harm by it. The League being all Grimace, in those who were to execute it. For tho' *De Wit* told the Count *D'Estrades*, the States are of Necessity to endeavour for such Securities and Alliances, as may shelter them from his Majesty's Great Power. Yet his own Disposition was not chang'd, for in the very next Letter of that Minister, he writes the King. The Minds of the Members of this Assembly, are so prepossess'd against us, that we, that is *Monsieur De Wit* and I, thought fit to separate them on some Pretex<sup>t</sup>s, for some Days, which is done; and in the Interim we may labour to efface the Impression which the Spaniards have made on the Cities, that your Majesty aims Absolutely at the Conquest of the Low Countries, and after that, to fall on the United Provinces. What greater Influence could *French* Counsels have, than to Assemble and separate the States General, as it serv'd their Turn; and to shew how little the League the *Dutch* might make against them, affected 'em

'em in France, one need only read what the French Secretary of State wrote their Ambassador at the Hague, upon the States declaring, they thought the Kings Terms of an Accommodation with Spain too hard. I cannot conclude, without telling you, betwixt you and I, for your Private Satisfaction, that if after the King has put into the Hands of the States, the Certainty of Peace, on the Conditions which Monsieur De Wit himself propos'd, provided that they would but exert themselves as they ought to the Spaniards; the said States, instead of that, take up the Cards, and make Alliances contrary to the Interest of his Majesty, we shall not be so much disturb'd at it here, as they may think. I know what I say, and on what Foundation I say it. Those who would do us a Mischief, will do more to themselves, and perhaps better advance the Advantage of his Majesty; wherefore live merrily whatever you see happen. Be under no kind of Concern about the Tripple League; he knows what he says, and on what Foundation. This can be nothing, but that England was not in earnest, and that Holland would be Govern'd by De Wit, who durst not side with the Spaniards, for fear of the Party of Orange. For had the Ministry of England and Holland, been as Hearty in that Alliance, as in that which has lately driven the French into Picardy, the Work had not been left to our Age. Not many Weeks after, D' Estrades writes to Monsieur De Lionne; Monsieur De Wit discerning that the King remains firm to his Proposal, does his best to bring the Cities as near



as possible, to the King's Sentiments; and that his own good Inclinations to France, might not be doubted, he assur'd me, says the Ambasiador, That if it had been in his Power, to have brought Affairs to the Point, which the King desir'd in his last Proposal, he had done it. And the Secretary returns the Pensionary's Complacency in his Letter of the 16th of December, 1667. The King will never with Pleasure, see any Person declare against Monsieur De Wit, but when it happens to be the Spaniards, I must not conceal from you that his Majesty very much rejoices at it, as well because that will amount to a certain Proof that the Sieur De Wit acts Sincerely for the Interest of this Crown, as because he is very well assur'd that they will not much hurt him, and that he shall yet have an Opprtunity of giving him Proofs of his Friendship and Protection, if he should think he stood in need of it. And the Pensionary and Ambasiador manag'd their Matters so well, as to get the States of Holland to declare their Opinion, to remain United to France, and make use of all forcible ways to oblige the Spaniards to comply.

It was one of the French Methods towards carrying on their Designs, wherever they had Friends to procure as much as in them lay, the Ruin of those that saw what they aim'd at, and endeavour'd to prevent the Slavery with which they threaten'd Europe. Count Waldeck was a Hearty Enemy of theirs, and went from Court to Court to sollicite Succours for the Dutch, when the Bishop of Munster was at

at War with them, and afterwards when they were increasing their Forces, effectually to execute the Tripple Alliance: Therefore the Ambassador writes the Secretary, *No Time is to be lost in endeavouring to Ruin Count Waldeck, for he takes Measures against us on all sides.*

As zealous as the Pensionary was for the Service of Lewis XIV. the Violent Proceedings of that Monarch, put it out of his Power to hinder the Alliance of England and Holland against them. For the very next Year after he had made his first Irruption into Flanders, without giving the Dutch Notice of it, he wrote to the States the 22d of January, *That he intended to set out Nine Days after, to go into the Franche Comte, at the Head of a Body of Forces, to endeavour to possess himself of some Post.* Accordingly, he invaded and seiz'd that Province, which frighted the Dutch into the Tripple Alliance. Notwithstanding that League, the Pensionary continu'd still his Animosity against the English, and made King Charles's persisting in his Demand of the Flag, a Pretence to keep the Hollanders from that Confidence in him, which was necessary to give Life to the New Alliance. There's a Passage in a Letter of D' Estrades, that presents us with a lively Idea of his prevaricating with us in it. *I intreat you, Sir, to let me know as soon as possible, the King's Sentiments on this Affair, for if his Majesty thinks, a Stricter Union with the States would be necessary to his Service: We ought not to lose this Conjunction,* which

which is favourable to procure the Turn of all the Cities and Provinces which are inclin'd for England. I dare also venture to tell you, Sir, that if Monsieur De Wit does not find himself sustain'd by the King, he will take other Measures, and perhaps may be forc'd to acquiesce with the Sentiments of the English Party, which will not be, but at the last Extremity; being very ill satisfy'd with, and having but little Esteem for the English Court, a great Contempt of that of Spain, and of their Ministers; and laying no Stress on the Resolutions of the Swedes, which he found very much Self-Interested; and on the contrary, a high Value for the Person of the King, his Valour, his great Mind, and his Conduct; to that degree, that he said boldly in the Assembly, he must own the first and most Solid Council there was in Christendom, was that of the King, of which he is the Chief. This high Opinion had De Wit of the French King, three Months after the Tripple League was Sign'd; and he had made such fair Professions of his Zeal for the Common Cause, in opposition to that Monarch's Ambitious Projects; but this real Disposition, may be better seen in a Letter written by D' Estrades, a few Days afterwards. I am certain that Monsieur De Wit for his own Interest, will do all in his Power to fix this State in the Interest of France, but 'tis not in his Power to break and dissipate the Cabals of England, and the House of Orange, as long as the apparent Pretexs which touch to the Quick subsist. As long as the French King continues Possessing himself of the Spanish Provinces, so long the Dutch

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would



would believe no other than that he had broken the Peace, and aspir'd to the Universal Empire; which Belief of theirs, tho' so well ground'd, the Pensionary would have destroy'd if he could, and made the People depend on the French King's Protection, the only Support of himself and his Party. It is observable, how that Monarch has all along Court'd the *Tricking* Politicians in Europe, himself being the greatest *Trickster* of 'em all. A sure Sign of the Injustice of his Views. For good Policy always goes with what's Right and Honest. The Crafty, Close, Mysterious Statesman, pursues his dark Methods, only because he dares not bring them to the Light; and his Works, like his Counsels, are those of Darkness. 'Twas by the Pensionary's means, that the Emperor, and the King of Spain, were refus'd to enter into the Triple Alliance; and he always told the French Ambassador, that the League was not against his Majesty's Interests; adding, *The Event would prove what he said*. A greater Proof needed not be given, than that immediately upon the Conclusion of that very Treaty, he press'd the French Court to enter into a Treaty against England, about the Flag; saying, *He did not believe it possible to convince all Christendom of the strict Union of France with the States, but by a Treaty of this Nature*. He was besides, for inserting an Article in such a Treaty, that in case of the Death of the King of Spain, the King and the States should take Arms, to force the Spaniards

ards out of the Netherlands, and that the King should be free to carry his Arms every where, in the Kingdoms and Countries of the King of Spain, to Conquer them. Let any one judge what a Lover this was of the Liberty of Europe, without which, that of the United Provinces could not subsist. What a Man of Honour, who having but three Months before Concluded a Treaty for the Defence of Spain, was now for entering into another, to give it up to France; and deluding his Masters the States, by fair Representations of the French King's Intentions, that they might not have any Apprehension of his Conquests, with which they were very justly perplex'd. He goes on thus, *We shall overthrow all the Designs of the Spaniards, which tend only to engage the States to make some false Step, by the Fears which they suggest to them of the Conquest of Flanders, on which we cannot secure our selves here, nor avoid that, this Case happening, the States entering into all possible Alliances with the English, and the Princes their Neighbours to oppose it, he then entreated the Ambassador to believe, That his Intention was good, and that he desir'd nothing so much, as to see France and Holland so firmly Leagu'd together, that the Cabals of Spain and England, and those of the Netherlands, should never attack them.* Thus was this Famous Patriot Fortifying himself on the side of France, in the Peril of every thing, Religion, Liberty, Trade, and all that Men hold dear. The English and Spanish Cabals, who hated him down, for their Attachment to the French;

must by no means prevail, whatever was the Consequence. There was likely to have any good Effect of the Tripple League, when the Man that made it, resolv'd it should be no Damage to *Lewis XIV.* against whom it was made. And as much as he pretended to be for his own Republick, we may perceive he was strongly against Anti-monarchial Principles by what Sir *William Temple* writes of his telling him, *That for his part, if he had been Born under a King, he could never have consented to what his Ancestors did, toward the King of Spain.*

He was not only a fast Friend of *France* himself, but did his utmost to impose his Notions on others, and to gain them over to that Interest. To this end, he endeavoured to stifle all good Inclinations in any of his Fellow-Ministers, as soon as born, and keep them steady in their Aversion to a *Spanish* League. The two Men of the State, who gave him most Trouble, were *Monf. De Beverning*, and *Monf. Van Beuning* before mentiond; the former threw up his Treasurer's Office, in the War with *England*, out of Disgust to the Pensionary Measures: The latter was not so soon convinc'd of the Necessity of disengaging themselves from *France*, but having *France* observ'd the Paces of that Court to possess the *Spanish* Dominions, he heartily imbrac'd the *Spanish* Interest, and fell in with the *Orange* Party to advance it. He gave early Intimations of the *French* King's Designs, and Sound Advice how to pro-



vent them: Sometimes in so strong Terms, that it gave great Offence to *De Wit*, and *D' Estrades*; the latter gives this Account of that Matter, to Mr. *De Lionne*, speaking of the Pensionary, *Hethen told me in Confidence, that he found Monsieur Van Beverning too warm by his Dispatches, and insinuating Thoughts into the Cities of Holland, that the King of Spain coming to dye, it might be expected that the King will re-assume his Project of Conquering the Netherlands; that he had written to him to write more moderately; that he ought not to stir up any thing that might disturb the Minds of the People; that he very well saw Monsieur Van Beuningen had not all the Complaisance which he had wish'd for the King's Ministers; that he will cause him to return, and having him with him, would so manage him, that he would rid him of all the Visions which he has, from the great Apprehensions of the King's Power, and Design of rendering himself Universal Monarch. Which is all that can be gather'd out of D' Estrades's Letters, for this is the last; and it is a great Loss to the Publick, that so many of 'em are sunk and gelt. There remains sufficient to prove, that this Great Minister De Wit, with all his Capacity, with all his Zeal for the Common-Wealth, was either bubbled by the French Court to a very Shameful Degree, or expos'd his Country to Slavery, out of Hatred to the Opposite Party. For every Body saw as well as Monsieur Van Beuningen, that Lewis XIV. aim'd to make himself not only Master of the Netherlands, but of all Europe. To*

accomplish this, there was no sort of Perfidy, nor even Perjury the *French* were not Guilty of; they Betray'd their Friends, capol'd their Enemies, Insulted the Weak, Amused the Strong; and having had a long Ministry of great Abilities, and at last a Monarch, who, with a vast Genius for Rule, had a Conscience as unbounded as his Ambition; they succeeded to the Amazement of all *Europe*, in the pursuit of the Universal Empire. How they us'd the *Dutch*, for their extraordinary regard to them, may be seen in the Famous Revolution, which happen'd to that Republick, in the Year 1672. Nor were they kinder to their real Friends, the *Poles* and *Swedes*. The former had endeavour'd to promote a *French* Prince to their Throne, but the *German* Interest was too hard for the *French*; and *Lewis XIV.* having hopes of engaging the Emperor not to assist the *Dutch*, when he should attack them, order'd his Ministers at *Vienna*, to offer those of the Emperor, to put into their Hands all the Original Letters they had from their Creatures and Friends in *Poland*, to the end that his Imperial Majesty, and the King of *Poland* his Brother, might take what Course they thought fit with such Rebels; which is a fair Warning to others, how they enter into any unlawful Commerce, with a Court that is so little sensible of the Ties of Gratitude and Honour, and will be sure to expose them, whenever they find it for their Advantage.

The *Swedes* have more than half a Century been very fond of *French* Alliances, whether out of Affection to their Form of Government; which they have happily embrac'd, or for Assistance against the *German* and *Danes*; which the *French* are most likely to afford them; or for what other Considerations, I shall not affirm, only by mentioning a Piece of History that happen'd before our first *Dutch* War, in which the *Swedes* were far from wishing well to the *Dutch*. The *French* had by Treaty oblig'd themselves to give the *Swedes* 1600000 Crowns; but finding that Treaty did not turn to Account, as was expected; they refus'd to perform it; and Monsieur *Terlon* their Minister at *Stockholm*; when he was put upon it, answer'd in few Words; that the King his Master declar'd that Treaty to be void; which was a New Way of speaking to Princes, till his Most Christian Majesty brought it into use; and made it the familiar Court Style of *France*.

How much King *Charles II.* was oblig'd to him, we have in part seen already; and shall hereafter see further; yet such was the Terror of his Arms, the Influence of his Gold, and the Prévalence of his Councils, that there seem'd to be a General Infatuation in those of all *Europe*. Those that cou'd have betimes given a Check to his Exorbitant Power, were so mad as to contribute to the increase of it; and the Famous *Tripple League*; which was concluded for no other End, serv'd only



to Arm *France* against the *Dutch*, who had espous'd it; and *England* and *Sweden*, who had joyn'd in it, were so far from assisting them, that they United their Forces with the *French*, to destroy that Republick, whose Preservation had been the first Motive of the Alliance.

'Tis much to be question'd, whether Monsieur *De Wit* was more hearty in it than my Lord *Arlington*; for tho' the Count *D' Estrades* was recall'd, yet he return'd the Year after, 1669. and to amuse that Minister, renew'd the League of Partition, to divide and Cantonize the *Netherlands*. The next Year, 1670, he came to *Holland* again, but the Subject of his Negotiations were intirely Secret, he having no Publick Character. The time of his coming, just upon the *Dutchess* of *Orleans's* Return from *Dover*, might be to give the Pensionary his Old Friend, such a Representation of that Matter, as shou'd continue his good Opinion of the Court of *France*; which was not easily to be done, all *Europe* beginning to talk of Engagements between *England* and *France*, notwithstanding the Tripple League was then so Young, and the Shame that must attend the breaking of it, as well as the Folly and Rashness. What it was that induc'd Monsieur *De Wit* to enter into that Treaty, may not be very difficult to guess. The Progress of the *French* in the *Netherlands*, the Clamours of the *Dutch*, and the increasing of the Party of *Orange*, who would have had great Occasion of Complaints, had

had *France* been suffer'd to come into the Neighbourhood of *Holland*, and the Ministry had not taken one Step to prevent it. But it is likely the Pensionary took as much Care to satisfy the *French* Court that it shou'd come to nothing, and as the *French* Ambassador said, *Toute cela s'en ira en fumée & que le Roy son maitre s'en mocqueroit. It will all vanish in Smoak; and the King his Master wou'd but laugh at it.* Which he might well conclude, from the Knowledge he had of the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers. The Count *De Dhona*, the *Swedish* Ambassador at the *Hague*, as soon as he heard of the Proposal of such a Treaty, reply'd: *He doubted Monsieur De Wit's Resolution to break upon any Terms with France, considering the Interests of the House of Orange, which he must ever believe wou'd, at one time or other, be advanc'd by England, whereas he was sure to be supported against them by France.* After it was concluded, as also the Peace of *Aix*, the Pensionary continu'd his Friendship with the *French* Court, and either wou'd not, or did not see how that of *England* dealt doubly with him, as well as that of *France*; and both were preparing to chastize his Republick, for the Insolence of pretending to a greater Concern for the Liberty of *Europe* than they allow'd them.

When the *Tripple Alliance* was accomplish'd, all honest *Englishmen* and *Dutchmen* rejoyc'd at it, as the best Event which had fal'n out for the Safety and Welfare of the Two Nations since the *Restoration*, but the *French* Factions treated it as a ridiculous

lous Business, and Sir Thomas Clifford said to a Gentleman in great Confidence: *Well, for all this Noise, we must yet have another War with the Dutch before it be long.* He was a Papist, and consequently better qualify'd to Prophecy of that matter than Sir William Temple, or any Man of his Principles. 'Tis true, the King of England took the Quarrel of the Guinea and Surinam Merchants upon him, to begin a Shyness to the Dutch after that League; but it will always be found, that where the Heart is the Hand will soon follow. His Majesty had as much Reason to complain of the French, for the Wrongs done at St. Christophers, and other Places in the West-Indies, to his Subjects. Those were forgotten, whereas ev'ry old and new Occasion of Complaint against the *Hollanders* was receiv'd with great Earnestness, and press'd rather as a ground of Quarrel, than a matter of Redress. Upon this quick Alteration in the Councils of England De Wit said; *Qu'il faut avouer qu'il y en a pour neuf mois du plus grand Ministère du Monde en Angleterre.* That it must be confess'd there has been for Nine Months the greatest Ministry in the World in England; as if, says a great Author, they believ'd some Change had befall'n our Councils before the last Year ended. Of so short Duration was all our good Dispositions, and it was not likely it shou'd be otherwise, when the Prime Minister was a suspected Papist. But the truest Representation of that Matter is what Monsieur Fossendorff, the Swedish Agent at Paris, told Monsieur De Wit: "That the  
" Mini-



“ Ministers in *France* had taken much  
 “ Pains to perswade him that *Sweden* wou’d  
 “ find their Account very ill in pursuing  
 “ those Measures. That *Spain* wou’d fail  
 “ them, and that *Holland* alone would not  
 “ be able to support them, or the Mea-  
 “ sures they had rashly taken. That  
 “ *England* would certainly fail them, and  
 “ was already chang’d in the Course of all  
 “ those Councils they had taken with  
 “ *Holland* and *Sweden*, tho’ they did not  
 “ think fit to let any thing of it appear,  
 “ and the Secret was yet in very few  
 “ Hands, either in the *French* or *English*  
 “ Court. *Puffendorf* seeming incredulous  
 and to think the Story artificial, to draw  
 the *Suedes* out of the *Tripple League*,  
 Monsieur *Turenne* at last shew’d him a Let-  
 ter from Monsieur *Colbert*, the *French* Am-  
 bassador at *London*, wherein he gave an  
 Account of the happy Successes he had met  
 with in his Negotiations at the Court of  
*England*, of the good Dispositions there,  
 and especially those of some of the chief  
 Ministers. Upon which he added these  
 Words: *Et, je leur ay enfin fait sentir toute*  
*l’Etendue de la Libéralité de sa Majesté.* And  
 I have at last made them sensible of the whole  
 Extent of his Majesty’s Liberality. The My-  
 stery of the Negotiations of Monsieur  
*Colbert* in *England*, was a long time a Secret  
 to all the rest of *Europe*, except the Pri-  
 vadoes of the Court of *England* and *France*;  
 but it is now no longer so, and that thro’  
 the little Deference which the *French*  
 Court has always paid that of *England*,  
 valuing very little their Treatment of  
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'em, the Publishing their Secrets, and exposing their Conduct, as was done by the Abbot *Primi*, employ'd by Monsieur *Colbert* himself, who allow'd him a Pension for collecting his Memoirs, putting them together, and making 'em publick: His Book was Printed both in *Italian* and *French*, the former under the Name of the Count *St. Maiolo*; but both *French* and *Italian* was Licens'd and had the Royal Privilege. It was publish'd at *Paris* in the Year 1682. At which time the Lord *Preston* was Envoy from King *Charles II.* who put in a Memorial against it, and 'twas immediately suppress'd, all the Copies, except Three or Four, being seiz'd, and the *Abbot* sent to the *Bastile*, where he remain'd about Ten Days, and then Appearances being sav'd he was enlarg'd. The whole Work consisted of Ten Books, but there are but Two of them in publick. The rest would have made Discoveries of infinite service to the *English* Constitution, and we shou'd have had a compleat View of the Integrity and Felicity of a Tory Ministry, for such that certainly must be that had *Arlington* and *Clifford* at the Head of it. I shall not pretend to enter into the *Detail* of all the Matter in this History. Those that relate to *England*, and are not known to many, shall suffice for this Treatise.

The *Tripple League*, and the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle* being concluded, the *French* King set himself to divide *England* from *Holland*, that he might easily conquer the Seventeen Provinces, which wou'd make the *Universal Monarchy* the Work of a few  
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Campaigns only. Had not the Court of *England* been extreamly well dispos'd to an Union with *France*, no such Step durst have been ventur'd by the *French* Ministers within a Year after the Conclusion of so famous a League as the Tripple one, so generally acceptable to the People of *England* and *Holland*; but the *French* Court had so many Friends in that of *England*, and even at the Head of our Councils, that they were not discourag'd by so formidable an Alliance, from attempting to engage King *Charles* in one with *France*, contrary to all the Treaties both Kings had made the last Two Years at *Breda*, the *Hague*, *Aix*, and *Spain*.

There were some Merchants in *England* that pretended Satisfaction for Two or Three *East-India* Ships taken before the Peace of *Breda*; some *Englishmen* had been kept at *Surinam* with, or without their Consent, and the *French* Faction were perpetually teasing the Pensionary of *Holland* for Satisfaction, as has been hinted already, and he having no great Opinion of the Honesty or Ability of our Ministers, nor Kindness to our Nation; which he look'd upon as Rivals to his own in Commerce, and such Rivals as wou'd never be contented without an entire Mastery; and what was worse, as a People inseparable from the Interests of the House of *Orange*, was not very forward to comply with these Vexatious Demands of the *English* Ministers. Upon which a certain Author who liv'd in those Times writes thus: *The Pensionary De Wit, who govern'd Holland at that time with a more than Ministerial Authority,*



thority, took a Pride in standing on Punctilio's in all things relating to England, which makes the Commonwealth itself to be less guilty of any Disrespect shew'd either to his Majesty or the Nation, through the Haughtiness and private Animosity of their Minister. And truly I must needs say, that of all the things that are laid to the said De Wit's Charge, there is hardly any which wou'd make me more apt to believe there was a private Understanding between the French and him, than his carriage in this Business, and his demurring so long upon the Satisfaction which the greatest part of the States were so willing to give England, while he knew full well that it was a Quarrel sought by our Ministers, who wanted some popular Pretence to make War, and keep their Word with the French King. At the same time that our Ministers in Holland were order'd to require Satisfaction for our East-India and West-India Merchants, those in England made a great Noise of Infamous Libels, Horrid Pictures, Pillars set up and Medals coin'd. As to the Medals, true it is, one was coin'd which shews Monsieur De Wit's Arrogance, who assuming to himself the Honour of the Peace of Aix la Chappelle, got a Medal struck, wherein it was ascrib'd to the States, who leaving ev'ry thing to him, it follow'd of course, that the greatest share of the Glory wou'd redound to him; the Medal on one side represented Holland resting her self on a Trophy, and on the other side were these Words, That she had re-establish'd and confirm'd the Laws, reform'd and chang'd Religion, assisted, protected, and reconcil'd Kings, re-  
for'd

for'd Liberty to the Sea, made a glorious Peace  
by force of Arms, and settled the Repose of all  
Europe. With the Presumption of which  
the Dutch Ambassadors were often up-  
braided, particularly Monsieur Groot at  
Paris; and tho' the Dye was broken two  
Years after, the Two King's of England and  
France, did not give over complaining of  
the Insolence of it; which the French Am-  
bassador highly aggravated as an Affront  
not to be born by Crown'd Heads, and  
the Court of England, who a Year or two  
before, cou'd tamely bear an Insult the  
English Nation had never met with, the  
putting their Capital into a terrible Con-  
sternation, are now so jealous of their  
Honour, that it must not be eclips'd by a  
Dutch Medal. Monsieur Colbert aggra-  
vated the Contempt shewn King Charles's  
Mediation, and set forth to that Prince,  
How the time was now come to be reveng'd upon  
a Nation that had so little Respect for Kings;  
and he cou'd never meet with a more favourable  
Opportunity, since several German Princes had  
already enter'd into the Confederacy; and his  
Master was strong and powerful enough to be  
able to assure his Allies that all due Satisfaction  
should be made to their Glory and Interest in the  
Sequel of this War. These are the Abbots  
Words. He goes on: Upon this Representa-  
tion that Prince sign'd a Private Treaty with  
France; and to give him further Assurances  
upon the Matter, Henrietta of England,  
Duchess of Orleans, a Princess whose Wit and  
Capacity were equal to her Beauty, Sister to the  
King of England, and Sister-in-law to the King  
of

of France, cross'd over to England in 1670, and in the Name of the most Christian King made a Proposal to her Royal Brother, of insuring to him an absolute Authority over his Parliament, and re-establishing the Catholick Religion in the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; but with the same Breath she gave him to know that in order to compass this End, there was a Necessity above all things, of lowering the Pride and Power of the Dutch, who made it their whole Study to sow and foment Divisions among their Neighbours, and of reducing that State to the narrow Compass of the Province of Holland, of which the Prince of Orange shou'd be Sovereign, or at least Perpetual Stadtholder. The Execution of which Project would be easily accomplish'd by Two Powerful Princes strictly ally'd. That by this Scheme the King of England shou'd have Zealand, and the King of France the rest of the Netherlands. This great Mystery had probably remain'd so for ever, had not the French Ministers been fond of valuing their Management and Services to the World, by publishing it. There remains no doubt of the truth of it, and the Reader shall have it in the Author's own Words, which may suffer by my Translation: *Ce qui engagea ce Prince à signer un Traité secret avec La France & pour l'asseurer encore d'avantage Henriette d'Angleterre Duchesse D'Orleans Princess qui avoit autant d'Esprit que de Beauté sœur du Roy d'Angleterre, et belle sœur du Roy de France pussa en Angleterre en 1670, et proposa au Roy son Frere au nom du Roy Tres Chrétien de lui assurer un autorité absolue sur son Parlement*



et de restablir la Religion Catholique dans les Royaumes, d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, et d'Irlande. Mais elle disoit que pour en venir a bout, il falloit avant toutes Choses abaisser l'Orgueil & la Puissance des Hollandois qui ne songeoient qu'a mettre la division parmi leur Voisins, et les reduire a la Seule Province d'Hollande, de laquelle le Prince d'Orange seroit Sovereign, ou au moins Gouverneur perpetuel que ne seroit pas difficile a deux grands Rois puissants et bien unis et que par ce moyen le Roy d'Angleterre auroit la Zelande, pour lui servir de Retraite en cas de Besoin et que le Reste des Bays bas demeureroit au Roy de France, s'il pouvoit s'en rendre maitre.

I have not follow'd any exact Method of Chronology in this Treatise, not proposing so much to give an Idea of Facts as that of Men, and to mention things only as they serve to shew the Men in the most natural Light. I shall therefore postpone the further relation of that League, and the Rupture that follow'd upon it, to observe how soon, upon the Conclusion of the Tripple Alliance, the Ministry in England had Thoughts of breaking of it. Sir William Temple, as I have hinted before, tells us the Pensionary of Holland wou'd not allow above Nine Months to the Vigour of that Council, which made the Tripple League and the Peace of Aix, and sent him over to Holland in 1668. to pursue the great Ends of them. Instead of this, says he, our Pretensions upon the Business of Surinam and the East-India Company, have grown high, and been manag'd with Sharpness between us and

the States, and gounded, (as *Monsieur De Wit* conceives) more upon a Design of shewing them our ill Humour, than our Reason. The English Ministers began to shew their flight of the Tripple Alliance, by discouraging all the Advantages made by the Emperor and other Princes, to come into it; but it was plain they were resolv'd not to keep to those Engagements, when upon the siezing of *Lorrain* by the French Troops, as is before-mention'd, the Prime Minister *Arlington*, wrote then to Sir *William Godolphin*, a Papist, but Ambassador from King *Charles II.* to *Spain*. "His Majesty has receiv'd a sad  
 " Complaining Letter from the Duke of  
 " *Lorrain*, claiming his Succour as a Prince  
 " allied to him in Blood, and particularly  
 " qualified for his good Offices by his Mis-  
 " fortune, which hath been solicited by  
 " *Monsieur Ognati*, who deliver'd the  
 " Letter and by the Dutch Ambassadors  
 " supposing his Calamity may prove in the  
 " End contagious to them as the Poss  
 " *France* hath gotten by it more pressingly  
 " threatens *Flanders*, and visibly cuts off the  
 " great Communication with their Neigh-  
 " bouring Territories. His Majesty hath  
 " made no other Answer yet than that he  
 " laments this unfortunate Prince's Condi-  
 " tion for his own and his Neighbours sake  
 " and that he will be glad to give him any  
 " Ease in it that is in his Power, but that  
 " he knows not how to go about it with  
 " probability of effect, till he hears what  
 " *Spain* and the Empire says to it. In the  
 " mean time the French Ambassador hath  
 " taken

“ taken a great deal of Pains, to possess  
 “ his Majesty and the Court here with the  
 “ many Provocations his Master hath re-  
 “ ceiv’d from this Prince, the notorious  
 “ Infringements of all his Treaties with  
 “ him, and the many Practices he was now  
 “ actually engag’d in against his Service and  
 “ the Publick Peace; which Evidences the  
 “ Ambassador produces, and the ill Repu-  
 “ tation this Prince hath in the World,  
 “ render very credible.

It is not at all strange that the Sollicita-  
 tions for assisting the Duke of *Lorrain*,  
 were so ineffectual, and that *Arlington* had  
 conceiv’d such a Disgust against that Prince  
 for his ill Reputation. We can’t suppose  
 that he who was a Servant in a Court which  
 outv’y’d all the rest of *Europe* in Gallantry,  
 shou’d think the worse of the Duke for his  
 Amours; and then all his Reputation must  
 be his breaking those Engagements the  
*French King* had by Force extorted from  
 him to the enslaving of himself, his Fa-  
 mily and their Posterity. What notice  
 that Tory Minister had of preserving the  
 Liberties of other Nations as well as our  
 own of assisting distress’d States, groaning  
 under the Oppression of *France*, and bring-  
 ing *Lewis XIV.* to reason, may be seen by a  
 Letter of his to *Sir William Temple*. I told  
 you early that Generosity and keeping the Ballance  
 even between *France* and *Spain*, wou’d be Points  
 that might by witty Men be talk’d out of doors.  
 I am afraid the Spanish Ambassador and the Ba-  
 ron de *Isola*, depend too much upon the Humour  
 that reigns here, which Wishes *Flanders* were  
 succoured



*succoured as the Bulwark of England, and so care not to provide themselves with more Interior and Essential Convincements. There is not more Affectation in his Essential Convincements, than in his Humour of defending the Bulwark of England; as if the Preserving a Barrier to our Religion, Liberty, and Trade, was a Humour only; but it was the Fashion to treat such Alliances as Visionary and Chimerical, and ev'ry thing as ridiculous that had not a Tendency to France, tho' he himself pretended a Fear of an Union between France and Holland, and that it was out of such an Apprehension, that he was backward in trusting the latter. If France and Holland remain as united after the Peace, as they were during the Treaty of it, we are not secure that they may not, taking Advantage of our Distempers at home, break out again upon us. Who can envy the Greatness of Statesmen, their Interest and Honour, when they must do all this to obtain and preserve them. He, who knew better than he knew himself, that France was never well united with Holland, never in earnest in the War with England, was against Leaguings for the Defence of the Spanish Netherlands; because he was afraid the Dutch wou'd join with the French against us. These were the Reasons the Court of England furnish'd her Ministers with, and we might well be the Jest of the World when we were such Fools to one another.*

*Monfieur De Wit was one of the first that discover'd the Secret League between*

*France*

France and England, not by the Articles, but the Effects of it, and yet he made no haste to satisfy King Charles, believing perhaps that King wou'd not venture to break the *Tripple Alliance*, of which the *English* were so fond. He did not then know what resources the King had, and as far as his Politicks cou'd direct him, he thought the Parliament wou'd never give him Money to act against a League, which they offer'd to supply him to maintain; and having it always in his Head, that a Compliance with *England* wou'd restore the *Orange* Party to their former Credit and Power, he seem'd resolv'd to expect the worst, rather than give what he thought unreasonable Satisfaction to King Charles.

The Dutches of Orleans's arrival at *Dover* did indeed alarm him, and made him hasten away *Van Beuningen*, who had declar'd for the Prince of *Orange*'s Advancement, to *England*, where it was now visible enough, that the Court thought no more of the *Tripple* League. The Ministry, through Corruption or Ignorance, were gain'd to the *French* Side, and *Van Beuningen* soon found what his Embassy wou'd end in. The plainest Account of this part of our History, is in a Book printed in *French*, entitul'd *L'Histoire de Corneille et Jean de Wit*, which I shall render into *English*.

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" King of *Sweden* was not dazled with  
 " *French* Gold, it gain'd more on the King  
 " of *England*, by the Perswasions of the  
 " Dutches of *Orleans*, his Sister, supported  
 " by *Monsieur Colbert* the *French* Amba-  
 " sador,

\* Clif-  
ford, Ar-  
lington,  
Bucking-  
ham, Ash-  
ley, Lau-  
derdale.

“sador, who made the King believe what  
“he wou’d. A Hundred Thousand Pi-  
“stoles were remitted to that Minister,  
“which he laid out to advantage, to en-  
“gage those that had the greatest Interest  
“in the King. The Lords of the *Cabal* \*  
“had the greatest part of that Money;  
“they were known to be the most Mortal  
“Enemies of the *United Provinces*. And  
“*Charles II.* King of *Great Britain*, con-  
“tented with the Name of King, left the  
“Government to them, and seem’d to  
“have no other Inclinations but what those  
“base Ministers inspir’d him with. His  
“most Christian Majesty’s Bounty had all  
“the Effect that could be expected. This  
“Wicked Ministry, who betray’d their  
“Country, and wou’d have betray’d their  
“Master, if they cou’d have got by it,  
“pretended to give Credit to what the  
“Minister of *France* told them of the  
“Instances the States, both by Letters  
“and their Ambassadors, had made to the  
“*French King* to treat of an *Alliance* with  
“them, that they might jointly attack  
“*England*. Accordingly the *Cabal* were  
“perpetually representing to King *Charles*,  
“that he ought no more to have any  
“thing to do with a Republick, that had  
“vow’d his Destruction. It is not to be  
“doubted but this imaginary Proceeding  
“of the States made a very strong Im-  
“pression on the King’s Mind.” Thus  
“far my Author, who seems not to know  
“King *Charles* so well as he did his Ministers;  
“for there was no need of animating him  
“much



much to a Rupture, which none of them was so desirous of as himself, notwithstanding all the Obligations he had receiv'd from the *Dutch*, when he embark'd in *Holland* for his Restauration in *England*. The States of that Province only having spent 600000 *Livers* to entertain his Majesty at the *Hague*, besides what the States General order'd to be disburs'd on that Occasion, insomuch that his Majesty declar'd, *He did not believe he could find more Tenderness and Affection in the Hearts of his own Subjects, than he had found in those of the Inhabitants of that State.* But his grateful Sentiments of their Extraordinary Generosity were more remarkable in what he told Monsieur *De Wit*, *That the States might rest assur'd he would always be constant in his Friendship to them, and would have the Interest of their Subjects at much at heart as that of his own.* Which how he made good Four or Five Years afterwards, and Five or Six Years after that, let the Histories of those Times demonstrate. I am not undertaking to prove his Majesty's Gratitude to *Holland*, but his Affection to *France*, and shall again have recourse to my *French* Author, who goes on with his Account of that Ministry, their instigating their Master to War, by shewing him how easy he might take Vengeance of them for their double dealing. This he does in a Speech he has put into the Mouths of the *Cabal*; whether it was his own or theirs I will not decide, but content my self with repeating it as I find it. *Your Majesty runs no Risks, said those unworthy Mini-*

p. 345.

those Republicans have made themselves odious to all the Princes of Europe, there is not one who will oppose you in this Undertaking; the most Powerful will be satisfy'd with being Spectators of the War, and with Pleasure see the Pride of that Commonwealth humbled, a Commonwealth that has brav'd so many Crown'd Heads. Spain will be so far from assisting them, she will rejoice in the Misfortune of a Nation whom she still looks upon as her Rebellious Subjects. Tho' the Emperor shou'd be willing to defend the United Provinces, he dares not undertake it in this difficult Posture of his Affairs; the Ottoman Empire arming so mightily as it does, and the Revolt of his Subjects in Hungary, will cut him out Work enough of his own, and hinder his thinking of others. The Court of France, by their Money and the Jealousy they'll take care to maintain between the Two Northern Crowns, will engage them to remain Neuter. The War between the Turks and the Poles, will prevent the Elector of Brandenburg's assisting them: Nay, who does not know but he might be glad of this Opportunity to recover the Towns in the Dutchy of Cleves, which the States have so long kept from him: The Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster desire nothing more than to enter those Provinces with their Armies. Will they be in a Condition to resist so many Enemies attacking them on all Sides, especially at a Time when Faction reigns so much among them. I shou'd be enclin'd to take this Speech for a Fiction, if it was not a common thing for Historians to invent Speeches, and put them in the Mouths of the Persons they introduce. I cou'd not imagine the Cabal

would

would go so far as *Hungary* and *Poland*, at a time when our Court seem'd to mind only what was done in *France*, as may be seen by what the Author adds afterwards.

"The King of *England* suffer'd himself to be seduc'd by these and the like Considerations, however he would not sign the Private Treaties with *France*, Qu' apres avoir recû l'argent qu' on lui avoit promis consistant en Six millions, till he had reciev'd the Money which was promis'd him, amounting to Six Millions, besides 300000 Crowns a Month to be paid during the War." These were the Considerations which made King *Charles* embark in so dangerous and impolitick an Affair in Defiance of his Parliament, whom he could assemble or dismiss, as he found them in Temper to assist him or oppose him, having Supplies from *France* to enable him to begin and carry on the War; and it was the same Reason that made our Court and Ministers so indifferent as to the meeting or not meeting of that Assembly, Some discontented People having flatter'd them, says the Lord *Arlington*, speaking of the Dutch, with an Opinion that the Parliament will do Wonders for them, and prevail with his Majesty to separate from *France*. One would think by this, that the Discontented People had flatter'd them with false Notions; but what follows is as merry as the rest of the Reflections of that Minister. To deceive them herein, his Majesty has resolv'd to prorogue them, to shew the Dutch that they are mistaken if they think the Parliament will



will not assist him, he will not let them meet. Abbot Primi, whose Master, Monsieur Colbert, was more in the Secret than the English Secretary himself, gives us a better Account of this Matter, *Le Roy d'Angleterre de son costè estoit embarrassé, &c.* "As for the King of England, he was exceedingly perplex'd, there was need of Money to carry on the Design, and that secretly too. He could raise none at Home without calling a Parliament, and that could not be done without acquainting all Europe with his Designs; there was also great fear of Opposition, both from the Misunderstandings which in that *Tumultuous Assembly* do for the most part arise between the Two Houses, and from the Intrigues of the *Hollanders*. His very Words are, *Outre que cette assemblée tumultue use par la mauvaise Intelligence qui est ordinairement entrè les deux chambres & par les Intrigues des Hollandois, &c.*" Such is the Respect this French Writer paid to the most August Assembly in the World. He proceeds, "For which Reason the King of France furnish'd him with such Sums of Money as were sufficient to equip a considerable Fleet, and he advis'd the King of England (the better to conceal their Agreements) to keep a fair Correspondence outwardly with the Dutch, to appear firm to the Tripple League, and to declare that he set out a Fleet for no other Reasons, but because his Neighbours, and especially the French, who made

" great

“ great Preparations in all their Ports up-  
“ on the Ocean, strengthen’d themselves  
“ so very considerably by Sea. „ But  
*Clifford* and *Arlington* had not Complacency  
enough for that League, to dissemble so  
much as the *French* Ministers would have  
had ’em, being more Masters of their  
Business. *Sir Orlando Bridgeman* then Lord  
Keeper, was of another Opinion, and so  
were *Prince Rupert*, the Duke of *Ormond*,  
and *Sir John Trevar* Secretary of State, who  
were all remov’d from the Committee for  
*Foreign Affairs*, to make room for such as  
would give themselves entirely up to the  
management of *France*.

The Lord Keeper *Bridgeman* declar’d, as  
soon as the Tripple League was made, that  
He wou’d endeavour in his Station, the Inviol-  
able Observation of it. The other three  
were Men of Honour, and Lovers of their  
Country, which was Cause sufficient to  
dismiss them from a Board, where nothing  
either Honourable or Profitable for *Eng-  
land*, was to be concerted. As to the  
Character of the Cabal, they are as well  
known, as if they had Liv’d in of any our  
Times. We may see what was to be ex-  
pected from *Arlington*, by one of the Ar-  
ticles in the Earl of *Bristol*’s Charge against  
the Earl of *Clarendon*, whom he accuses  
for saying on the Removal of Secretary  
*Nicholas*, to make room for *Sir Henry Ben-  
net*, That His Majesty had given 10000 l. to  
remove a Zealous Protestant, that he might  
bring into that Place of Trust, a Concealed  
Papist; and that the Earl should say fur-  
ther,

ther, of the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman*, If he had not stood in the Gap, Popery had been introduc'd into this Kingdom. Every one has heard of *Clifford's* abandoning his Post, to own himself a Papist, and of the Scandalous Life and Morals of *Lauderdale*. *Buckingham's* various Character, is well describ'd by *Dryden*, in *Absolam* and *Achitophel*; and *Ashley's* Troublesome and unsettled Humour, will add no great Reputation to that Ministry: However the two latter aton'd for their ill Council, by their Steady Adherence to the Cause of Liberty afterwards. The Three former, as they Dy'd in Political Impenitence, have left us just Grounds to have an Eternal Abhorrence of a *Stanch Tory Ministry*, which ever was, and ever must be for *France*, and against *Holland*.

There was all the Reason in the World, for our Court to have kept Firm to the *Tripple Alliance*, which would not only have preserv'd the *Netherlands*, but hinder'd the future Power of *Lewis XIV.* and made King *Charles* Arbiter of the Affairs of *Europe*. But they were insensible of every thing, neither Honour, Interest, nor Resentment, could touch them; or else, after so much Expression of Brotherly Love and Tenderness to the Dutches of *Orleans*, at the Interview of *Dover*, her sudden Death would have had other Effects in *England*. 'Twas generally believ'd both in *France* and *England*, that she was Poison'd, and by her Husband, who had express'd some Dissatisfaction in her Conduct. I am

not



not here to write Madam's Apology or Acculation, but to relate what Grounds there were to believe she came by an Untimely End, and that too immediately after the Merit of making, or Confirming the Private League, begun by *Colbert*. A Reverend Deanary of our Church, speaking of this Event, has these Expressions; *Our Court in great Amazement, durst not betray a Suspicion of her indirect way of Dying, but gave this soft Account of it, June 22, 1670.*

" This Day arriv'd an Expres from Mr. Mountague, his Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, with the sad News of the Death of Madam, his Majesty's only Sister, to the infinite Grief and Affliction of their Majesties and Royal Highnesses, as well for the Greatness of this Loss, as for the Astonishing Suddenness of it. She Dy'd at *St. Clou*, about four of the Clock on Monday Morning, of a sudden and violent Distemper, which had seiz'd her at Five of the Clock the Evening before, and was by the Physicians taken for a kind of Bilious Cholic. The Necessity there is for Tricking Courtiers to dissemble their Passions, and put a violent Constraint upon Nature, does not the least contribute to the miserableness of their Condition. But the wretched Colours they are forc'd to give their Actions, to amuse the Publick, reduce 'em to a State of Contempt or Pity. *Infinitely are we Griev'd and Afflicted, but durst not betray our Suspicion of any indirect Methods, tho' they had sufficient*

## The Secret History

ficiant Intimation of it, by some Letters from the late Duke of Mountague, who was actually on the Spot; from whence we shall borrow the following Particulars, taking only what is most material.

June 30, 1670.

**M**Adam on Sunday the 29th of this Instant, being at St. Clou, with a great deal of Company, about Five of the Clock in the Afternoon, call'd for a Glas of Chicory Water that was prescrib'd her to drink, she having for two or three Days after Bathing, found her self indispos'd: She had no sooner drank this, but she cry'd out she was Dead, and fell into Madam Mascbough's Arms, and desired to be put to Bed, and have a Confessor: She continued in the greatest Tortures imaginable, till Three a Clock in the Morning, when she Dy'd, &c.

July 6, 1670.

**I** Suppose by this time, you may have with you the Marshal De Bellefonds, who, besides his Condolance, will endeavour, I believe, to disabuse our Court of what the Court and People here will never be disabus'd of, which is, Madam's being Poison'd; which having so good an Authority, as her own saying it several times in her great Pains, makes the Report much more Credited. But to me in Particular, when I asked her several times whether she thought her self Poison'd, she would answer nothing:

I believe, being willing to spare the addition of so great a Trouble to the King our Master, which was the Reason why, in my first Letter, I made no mention of it. The King and the Ministers here, seem extremely afflicted with the Loss of Madam, and I do not doubt but they are, for they hoped upon her Consideration, to bring the King our Master, to condescend to things, and enter into a Friendship with this Crown, stricter perhaps, than they think he will now She's no more. But Mr. Mountague, the then Ambassador, was at that time none of the Court Confidants, he did not know how many Millions in hand was to be paid his Master, enough to comfort him, for more than the Loss of a Sister, that of his Honour, and the Love of his People. What was begun, continues he, or what was intended, I will not presume to search into, since Your Lordship does not think fit to communicate the least part of it to me; but I cannot help knowing the Town-talk; all I desire to know, my Lord, is that whilst I am here, I may know what Language to hold in Conversation with the other Ministers, that I may not be Ridiculous with the Character I have upon me.

P. S. Monsieur complains extremely of the King our Master, for having a Confidence with Madam, and treating things with her, without his Knowledge.

To



To the KING;

July 15.

**I** Had the Honour on the Saturday, which was the Day before Madam Dy'd, to entertain her a great while, the most of her Discourse being concerning Monsieur, and how impossible she saw it was for her to live Happily with him, for he was fallen out with her worse than ever, &c. He acquaints his Majesty afterwards, of the Dutchess's telling him how she had perswaded him to joyn with France, against Holland, speaks of her Illness, and adds, I ask'd her then, if she believ'd her self Poison'd, Her Confessor that was by, understood that Word, and told her Madam, you must accuse no Body, but offer up your Death to God as a Sacrifice; so she would never answer me to that Question, tho' I asked several times, but would only shrink up her Shoulders.

To the Lord Arlington,

July 15.

**T**Here has been ever since Madam's Death, as you may imagine upon these Occasions, various Reports, that of her being Poison'd, prevailing above all the rest, which has disorder'd the Ministry here, to the greatest degree that can be. For my own Particular, I have been so struck with it, that I have hardly had the Heart to stir out since, which joyn'd with the Reports of the Town, how much the King our Master resented so Horrid a Fact, that he would not receive Monsieur's Letter, and that he

he Commanded me Home, made them conclude that the King our Master, was dissatisfy'd with this Court, to the Degree it was reported.

" This is only to give your Lordship an  
" Account of what I believe you know  
" already, of the Chevalier De Lorrain's  
" being permitted to come to Court, and  
" to serve in the Army as a Marshal-De  
" Camp to the King.

If Madam were Poison'd, as few People doubt, he is lookt upon by all France, to have done it; and it is wonder'd at by all France, that the King should have so little regard to the King of England, our Master, considering how Insolently he always carried himself to her when she was alive, as to permit his Return. It is my Duty to let you know this, to tell his Majesty, and if he think fit, to speak to the French Ambassador to do it Vigorously; for I assure you, it reflects here much upon him to suffer it. Tho' from what has been mention'd on this Subject, there seems to be sufficient Cause of Suspicion, that the King's Sister had been Poison'd, and the Assassins taken into the French Kings Favour, yet the Court of England was so Afflicted, that they would not give Ear to any such Wicked Insinuation, for fear of increasing their Grief; or what is most likely, of being oblig'd to resent it, and consequently to break the Golden Treaty with France. Arlington gives a most Substantial Reason for our not believing it, which is, that the French King did not. The Embroidments that were in her Domesticks says he, and the Suddenness of her Death, made

made the Opinion easily take Place withous, that She was Poison'd, &c. But the Dissection and the Perswasion we understand His Most Christian Majesty is in, (whom it behoves to know this Matter to the bottom) that She did not Dye of a Violent Death, hath taken off the greatest part of our Suspicions: And Monsieur the Marechal De Bellefonds, will, we suppose, entirely convince us, that we have nothing to Lament herein, but the Loss of this Admirable Princess, without any Odious Circumstance. And yet this Person so easily satisfi'd, was particularly recommended by Madam in her last Agonies, to the King her Brother's Favour, no doubt, for his Kindness to the Catholicks, and his espousing the French League. But the Matter was hush'd up, and the Marechal De Bellefonds met with as kind a Reception, as if he had come to Notify her Nuptials.

His Arrival in England, alarm'd the Dutch Ministers in our Court, and Mons. De Wit no longer doubted of a good Understanding between King Charles and Lewis XIV. tho' the Ministry in England acted their Parts very well, pursuant to the Instructions given 'em by France, not to seem at all inclin'd to break the Alliance, till the Two Courts were ready to strike the Decisive Blow. Tho' the Duke of Buckingham was dispatch'd to France, to return Monsieur De Bellefond's Compliment, and pursue his Negotiations, yet so well did the Court of England dissemble, that they dissipated all Monsieur Van Bouningen, the Dutch Ambassador's Appre-



Apprehensions, and made him look on the Voyages of the Mareſchal and Duke, as pure Ceremonies only. The Ambaſſador writing to Holland, that it was his Opinion, That as far as Common Appearance would go, he had all the Reason that could be to believe, that nothing had been Treated of by the Mareſchal, or the Duke, nor was ever intended, to the Prejudice of King Charles's Alliance with the Dutch. However, Monsieur De Wit's Jealouſies was not Cur'd; he declar'd to Sir William Temple, that he had obſerv'd A Goldneſs in all our Negotiations, ever ſince Madam's Journey into England; and upon the late Journey of the Duke of Buckingham to Paris, which he could not think was *Pour voir le Pais ou apprendre la langue*, To ſee the Country, or learn the Language. He deſir'd the Ambaſſador to tell him what he could make of all this laid together; for on the one ſide there were Circumſtances enough to awake a ſuſpicious Man; and on the other ſide, he could never think it poſſible for any Nation or Court it ſelf, to quit ſo certain a Point of Intereſt, and a great Point of Honour, as muſt be forfeited, by our breaking our Alliance with them. He added, His Majeſty had engaged the States in thoſe Common Meaſures, and even prevail'd with them to make a Sacrifice of the Ancient Kindneſs and Alliance the States had always before with France, to the Conſiderations of the preſent Danger from the Greatneſs of that Crown, to the reſt of Chriſtendom, tho' they might have had what Terms they pleas'd from them, for the dividing of Flanders. True it

was, King Charles, put upon it by the Clamours of his Subjects, had engag'd the Dutch in the Tripple League, and drawn on them the Displeasure of France, to which he was now about to joyn himself, for the Destruction of the Republick. Sir William Temple was not let into the Secret, and could only answer the Pensionary, He confess'd he was apt to make many of those Reflections himself had done, but could not believe it possible for any Crown ever to enter into Councils so Destructive to their Honour and Safety: That if such a Thing should ever happen, he desir'd Monsieur De Wit to remember what he told him upon the Scruple he had made, in trusting our Court upon the Negotiations of the Triple Alliance of his Majesty's and the Ministers good Resolutions. He continued, I cannot believe it possible for them to change in a Point of so evident Interest, and which will be so understood by the whole Nation. However, I can answer for no Body besides my self, but this I will, that if ever such a thing should happen, I will never have any Part in it; which he said, He had told the King, as well as him, and would make it good. The Ambassador needed not to have taken that Precaution, the Ministry knew he was not a Man to be sent on all their Wicked Errands, and it was one of their First Steps towards the War, to recal him. In the mean time, that Upright Minister the Lord Arlington, was doing his best to deceive Monsieur Van Beuningen, and the other Foreign Ambassadors concern'd in the Support of that Alliance. What a

Face he put upon our Courts close Correspondence with *France*, will appear by a Passage in a Letter of his to *Sir William Godolphin* in *Spain*; " *Monfieur Van Beuningen* was with me yesterday, being full " of these Apprehensions, and inferring " positively from them, that the Peace " would be immediately broken; I told " him I could not believe it, because the " King our Master, hath all the Moral " Assurances that can be receiv'd from his " Most Christian Majesty, that he will " inviolably keep the Peace of *Aix La* " *Chapelle*. " The Reader is desir'd to observe, that this was written Two Months after Madam had been at *Daver*, whereas she declar'd at her Death, she had perswaded her Brother to joyn with *France* against *Holland*; and long after *Colbert's* Treaty was concluded, he goes on " In the " Confidence of which, we live in a perfect " good Understanding with the Court, " in the Confidence of his keeping that Peace which the Two Kings had engag'd themselves to break. Again, " And such " Civilities pass between the Two Kings, " as give much Umbrage and Offence to " *Monfieur Van Beuningen*, particularly his " Majesty's sending the Duke of *Buckingham* to requite the Complements brought " hither by the *Mareschal De Bellefonds*, " &c. " This Minister and the Lord *Clifford*, were in the depth of the Business; *Buckingham* and *Ashley* not admitted so far, and *Lauderdale* a Tool, to be us'd or laid by at Pleasure; being easily contented with



the Share he had of the *Gallant Ministry*, in which he was *Prime*, while *Clifford* was at the Head of the *Political*. The latter being a *Staunch Papist*, could not but bear *Mortal Hatred* to the *Dutch*, as may be seen by what pass'd between him and *Sir William Temple*, upon *Sir William's* Return from *Holland*, after much *Anger* express'd against the *Dutch*, and the *Ambassador's* *Strenuous Vindication* of his *Negotiations*. *Sir William* gives this *Account* of it himself, in a *Letter* to his *Father*. *Being I confess, a little heated, after so long and unpleasant a Conversation (as well as He) I askt him in the Name of God, what he thought a Man could do more? Upon this, in a great Rage, he answer'd me, That he would tell me what a Man might do more, and what I ought to do more; which was to let the King, and all the World know, how basely and unworthily the States had us'd him; and to declare Publickly, how their Ministers were a Company of Rogues and Rascals, and not fit for his Majesty, or any other Prince, to have any thing to do with. And when the Peace was actually broken, and the French King had Invaded the United Provinces, the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands having assisted the Dutch, this was the Minister who undertook to have the Governor Checkt, and to get a Stop put to Succours for the future, by a Letter to Sir William Godolphin at Madrid. There are now at least, between 10 and 12000 Men, Horse and Foot, of theirs in the Holland Service and Garrisons, which is contrary to their Treaty made with us; and tho' they might send Auxili-*

Auxiliaries, notwithstanding any Treaties they have made with France, yet to send such Numbers, is so provoking a thing, that it will be a wonder if the Most Christian King doth not March with his Army to Brussels, and the World will justifie him in it. So careful were our Ministers of every thing that might put the least stop to the Progress of the French King's Arms, that instead of assisting them, as we had bound our selves by several Treaties, they would not suffer any one else to do it. Clifford was in earnest, for rooting out that Heretical Republican State, and restoring the Tyranny and Glory of the Popish Religion and Government all over Christendom. These Proceedings of France and England, could not probably have had the desir'd Effect, had Sweden continu'd firm in her Alliances with Holland. To debauch that Court Mr. Cowenry was dispatch'd away Ambassador to Stockholm, and he did not find it a very difficult Work to take off the Edge of their Zeal for the Preservation of the Liberties of Europe, which had always been Partial. And as the French Party there prevail'd or declin'd, it decreas'd or diminish'd. But ever since the Irruption of the Swedes into Germany, and the great Subsidies France paid to that Nation, the Ministry had been so us'd to touch French Gold, that their Party in Sweden, was far from being inconsiderable. The Court of France always took Care to Cultivate their Interest, and feed the Avarice of the Swedish Ministers. In this Situation of Affairs,

the first War between *England* and *Holland* broke out, in which by the Influence of *France*, the *Suedes* so behav'd themselves, that the *Dutch* always apprehended their Arms at their Backs, and the *English* were never the better for their Friendship. The Subsidies they were to have from *Spain*, tempted them into the *Triple League*; all *Christendom* being alarm'd at the *French* King's over-running the *Netherlands*, and the *Suedes* after their Success in *Germany*, affecting to concern themselves very much in the Affairs of *Europe*. But *France* all the while had a good understanding with that Court, which is evident from what Sir *William Temple* writes of them himself. "The short of the Story  
 "is, the *Dutch* take them to be Parties  
 "and engaged by new Agreements with  
 "France; and most of their Chief Mini-  
 "sters have been all along too Partial to  
 "France; among whom, none more than  
 "their late Ambassador in *France*, and  
 "this in *England*; but they believe the  
 "*Suedes* would be very glad to avoid the  
 "Entring this Year into the Game. And  
 "to Colour their Artifices with the *French*  
 "the better, they pretended for some time,  
 "to Mediate between the Two Crowns and  
 "*Holland*. 'Twas our Care in *England*, to  
 "disengage them from the *Triple Alliance*:  
 "Our Ambassador was sent to buy them off  
 "with *French* Money but we wanted so  
 "much our selves, *France* was not quick  
 "enough in her Payments, or *Sweden* had  
 "been early in the War against the *Dutch*,  
 "for



for whose Safety the League was made as either *England* or *France*. A little before the War broke out, *Arlington* wrote *Sir William Godolphin*, his Brother Profelyte in *Spain*, *Lord Ambassador* *Coventry*, gives us great hopes of his Agreement in *Sweden*, which is for want of a small Sum of Money, which *France* bargain'd for, which we hope we shall persuade them to give.

Thus it was, by the Weakness and Corruption of the Ministers of the Powers which Form'd the Triple Alliance, that *France* broke that Famous League, which had it been maintain'd, would have sav'd so many Hundred Millions of Money, and so many Hundred Thousand Lives, as within these twenty Years it has cost the Confederacy, to reduce Her Exorbitant Power. We have seen what Integrity there was in the *English* and *Swedish* Councils; we have seen also, how *Monfieur De Wit* behav'd himself on the Occasion of the Rupture which was threaten'd by *England*; but what the *Lord Arlington* says of it, will give some clearer Light to his Mysterious Conduct. He is speaking of the *Dutch*: Their Apprehensions from Abroad, will not so quickly cease; for besides the Terrible Force that threatens them from *France*, their Preparations of all kinds are so retarded, that many think *Monfieur De Wit* suffers them to be so, that he may thereby enforce their Agreement, or rather Submission to *France*. In a Word, he sees the War drives the Promotion of the Prince so strongly on, that he cares not what Peace he makes. Such is the Condition  
of

of those Ministers, who are supported by Faction only; they care not what Engagements they enter into, nor what are the Effects of them, if it serves their present Turn. How fatal *De Wit's* Fear of the Prince's Party, prov'd to the United Provinces, is evident in what Sir William Temple tells us of his Management at that Dangerous Conjunction. The Baseness and Cowardice of their Troops, were the Effects of turning out all Officers of Worth and Bravery, for their Inclinations to the Prince, and mean Fellows brought in, for no other Desert, than their Enmity declar'd to the House of Orange. Upon this, all Men expected a sudden Change; the States were in disorder, and irresolute what to do; Faction, Distrust, Sedition and Distraction, made such Entrances upon the State and the Army, when the French Troops first Invaded them. What a pity it is, that Men of good Capacities, and great Experience, should be so far abandon'd to Revenge or Avarice, that not the Consideration of their Posterity, their Country and Religion, can sway with them to give up their Ill-gotten Power, for the Preservation of every thing held dear by Mankind. One can't imagine that an Old Quarrel, such as the seizing *Jacob de Wit*, the Father of *Cornelius* and *John*, could Twenty Years after animate the Two Sons against the House of Orange, without some other Cogent Reasons; which France of all Nations in the World, knew how to improve. The Friendship between the French Ministers and *De Wit*, could not be entirely for

for the Support of the *Republick*; and when the War was Proclaim'd, and *Cornelius* had by *Brigues* obtain'd the Command of the *Dutch Fleet*, his sparing the *French Squadron* was so plain, that it was complain'd of at that time. An Author then Living writes, "It is observable, that the greatest Number of the *Dutch Commanders* are of Opinion, and have often Publicly declar'd, That the *French Ships* were thus kindly us'd by theirs, out of a particular Respect to *Wit's Brother* had to them. I shall not enlarge on the War in 1672. it being amply treated of in many Histories; particularly one lately Publish'd, said to be written by a *Member of the then House of Commons*; but come to the Catastrophe of the Two Brothers, the *De Wit's*, who so basely betray'd the *Common Cause* in all their Stations.

Sir *George Downing*, the Lord *Arlington's Rough Hand*, as he call'd him, coming to the *Hague*, and in his usual Stile Bullying the *States*, the Rupture, and ill Condition of the *Republick* to enter into it, appear'd more and more daily. As it did so, the Call for the Prince of *Orange* was the more Clamorous; but *De Wit's Faction* would not consent to his Advancement higher, than *Captain General*, nor to that, unless he renounc'd the *Stadtholderate*. The best Argument *De Wit* could give to the Prejudice of his Promotion, was Thrift, and the Money it would save the *Common-Wealth*; as if nothing was to be given



to Dignity and Magnificence, but all to Oeconomy. 'Twas a hard saying of *Miltou*, the Trappings of a Monarchy would maintain a Common-Wealth; and fine Stories they tell us of the Roman good Husbandry, but it was when Rome was Poor and Young. What she did *Illustrious* and *Wonderful*, was in the height of her *Magnificence*, and the Figure of a State, has often had a very great share in her Fortune. 'Tis true, when it is one Young, and has it not, Thrift and Oeconomy are absolutely necessary; but considering how much Appearance governs all things, the Pomp and Splendor of a Court, gives an answerable Idea of its Greatness and Power, both at Home and Abroad; and it is with the Publick, as with Private Persons, *He who looks mean, will always be thought so.*

I never pretended to any exactness of Method in this Treatise, and therefore the Liberty of this Digression is the more excusable. To return to my Subject, it was not in *De Witt's* Power, any longer to hinder the Prince of *Orange's* Party, among whom, now appear'd Monsieur *De Bevering*, and Monsieur *Van Benningen*, and the City of *Amsterdam*, from Electing his Highness *Captain General* and *Admiral General*. However, he procur'd a New Post for his Brother, of *Plenipotentiary* aboard the Fleet, whose Tenderneſs to the *French*, in the first Battel at Sea, has been mentioned. The Prince's Friends began to be lookt upon as those of the State, and all the Ravages of the *French* in the Provinces, were

were laid to his Charge, whose Councils had ever been on their side. The Pensionary had all along flatter'd himself, that *England* would never joyn with *France* against *Holland*, and then the Progress of the *French* Arms would only humble the *Orange* Party, and confirm his own Authority. The *English* Ministers, pursuant to their Instructions from the *French*, dissimbled the Matter with the *Dutch* pretty well. King *Charles* dismiss'd out of his Ports a Fleet of Merchant Men, and some *Amsterdam* Vessels. He recall'd Sir *George Downing* his Ambassador, for speaking with too much warmth to the States General. In short, he seem'd in all his Actions, to declare that he intended to keep a good Correspondence between them, while the Breaches grew every day wider and wider between *France* and *Holland*. Yet the Design was not carry'd on so secretly, but the States Residents at *London*, and the Ministers of other Princes in King *Charles's* Court, gave the *Hollanders* such Authentick Advice of it, that they found it was past Remedy. The Pensionary *De Wit*, fell in a Swoon in the *Stadthouse*, upon reading a Letter which gave him an Account of it; but he soon recover'd himself, and spar'd for neither Thought nor Vigilance, to provide against the impending Storm: And it was in this Fright, that the *De Wits* and their Friends, consented to the Prince's Election; whom, till that Moment, says the Abbot *Prims*, They roundly affirm'd to be a Serpent foster'd in the Bosom

Bosom of the Republick; that to declare him General, was the same thing as to make him Sovereign; that all the Provinces were devoted to him, except Holland; and if the latter could depress, and entirely ruin the House of Orange, it would be attended with the Benediction of all Posterity, and look'd upon as the Soul of the Common-Wealth. They remonstrated, if once the Prince found himself at the Head of the Troops, it would be no difficult matter for him to keep up his Authority, during the whole Course of the War, to possess himself of the Office of Stadtholder, and after that, to make himself Sovereign. Such Reasoning as this, at a Juncture when the State was threaten'd by an Army of 120000 Men, and the French King at the Head of them, with whom *De Wit* and his Party had always been for Leaguings, was enough to enrage the *Hollanders*, who saw at last, that their only Security was in the Zeal and Bravery of the Prince of *Orange*, to whose Ancestors, the Republick ow'd its Being. And tho' *De Wit*'s Brother went to Sea as *Plenipotentiary*, yet it was plain the Prince's Friends increas'd daily, and the Faction of *De Wit* grew every Day less. The Rabble in all the Towns of *Holland*, shew'd their Animosity against the Two Brothers, and it was no difficult matter to presage, what an Authority obtain'd by Violent Methods, supported by the Friendship of France, manag'd with Craft and Tricking, and preserv'd in Prejudice of the most Noble and Worthy Persons of the State, would end in.

Sir



Sir William Temple, a Year or Two before the Tragedy of the *De Witt*, wrote thus to the Lord *Arlington* of the Pensionary: "There is a violent Humour runs against him of late in the Town of *Amsterdam*, upon Pretext of his growing too far in to the Sway of all Affairs in this State, and of advancing his own Friends into Offices and Places of Trust with too much Industry; but I suppose the bottom of this is the same with that of all Popular Humours, that is, a Design in the Leaders to change the Scene, that so those who have been long employ'd, may make room for those who have been long out. I am not of Opinion they will succeed to prejudice him suddenly, &c." Sometime before this he had said he believ'd he cou'd not be remov'd without some *Violent Revolution*: The worst way of removing Ministers, as weakning the Foundation of all Governments. And it must be but a Melancholly Reflection, for any Minister to consider he owes his Power to the Rage of the Rabble; the Multitude being sooner weary of their Favourites than Sovereigns, and seldom failing of pulling them down with the same Fury that they set them up.

The Rapidity of the French King's Conquests, exasperated the Dutch against those that shou'd, they thought, have prevented it. The News of the taking of *Rhineberg*, *Wesel*, *Orsci*, and *Burick*, coming all at once, made the Populace outrageous. And it was

was reported of *De Wit*, the Pensionary, that he had timely Intimation of the intended Sieges of those Towns, and had been guilty of great Negligence, in not providing for the Defence of them. Nay, continues my Author, there were some who insinuated, that he had Secret Correspondence with his most Christian Majesty's Ministers, and neglected that Intimation as uncertain and trivial, to hinder the putting those Places in a Posture of Defence. In the mean time *Cornelius de Wit* was publickly exclaim'd against, for not having entirely destroy'd the French Fleet in the Battel fought in 1672. which it was said he might easily have done. He was the first that the Populace insulted. Four or Five Fellows attempted his House in June, but his Domesticks kept them out till the Guard came to his Assistance. A Few Days afterwards the Pensionary was assaulted in the Streets, and the Assassins were discover'd by *Henry Verhoof*, the very Man that was afterwards most instrumental in his Massacre. His being inexorable when one of the Russians was condemn'd, and Application was made to him for a Pardon heighten'd the general Animosity against him: The Man who was hang'd for the Assault being of a good Family, and *De Wit* was only slightly wounded. However, the States of *Holland* thought fit to give him an Assistant. And it was at this time of his Ministry, that the Publick Credit, which before was the most flourishing of any in Europe, sunk so low that the

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Provinces Bonds were discounted at the rate of 70 per Cent loss. The *East-India* Company's Stock fell to 25. And the Bank, which was Four or Five per Cent better than Specie, was Four or Five per Cent worse. At *Dort* the People rose against the Magistrates, to oblige them to repeal the *Perpetual Edict*, which kept the Prince of *Orange* from the *Stadtholderate*. The Magistrates consenting to it, the Prince was desir'd, by Deputies from that Town, of which the *De Wit's* were, to come thither, and accept of that Dignity which his Highness did to appease the Multitude and satisfy the Magistrates, who by their Readiness to Elect him shew'd they wanted only the welcome Violence of the People, to justify the breaking their former Engagement, to which they were as well inclin'd. *Cornelius De Wit* refus'd at first to sign the Instrument, declaring the Prince *Stadtholder*, and when at last he did it by the Perswasions of his Wife, he added Two Letters to his Name V C, *vi coactus*, by Force; which one of his Brother Councillors of that City observing, he was oblig'd to strike them out. *Leyden*, *Delft*, *Tergoun*, and *Hearlem*, follow'd the Example of *Dort*, and the Multitude at *Hearlem* being inform'd, the Pensionary was at the House of one Monsieur *Sypestein*, in that Town, ran thither to pull him out of it, and missing him they plunder'd the House. The States of *Zealand* began the Abrogation of the *Perpetual Edict* in form, and those of *Holland* follow'd their Example.

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Which



Which gave the last Blow to the absolute Authority of that Artful Minister *De Wit*, and open'd the Mouths of all his ill Wishers. He was accus'd of applying to his own Use the Money allow'd by the State for Intelligence, to the Value of 80000 Florins a Year; but I don't find it was prov'd upon him. And indeed I shou'd have wonder'd, if a Man of his Cunning shou'd have expos'd himself to the Proof of such a Corruption. Some Authors write, that the Prince of *Orange* desir'd him to continue in his Office, after he was declar'd *Stadtholder*; but whatever was done of that Nature, must be with so much Affectation that the Pensionary cou'd not be gain'd by it, knowing how justly his Highness and all his Friends were on ill Terms with him; That there cou'd be no Confidence, and that his Measures with *France* must for ever have ruin'd his Credit with the contrary Party. 'Tis certain when he came to compliment the Prince on his Promotion, he met with a very cold Reception, which so chagrin'd him, that Three or Four Days after he desir'd to resign his Post, which was not granted; his own Friends standing firmly by him, and the Prince not being willing to have so great a Change in the Ministry, at so perilous a Juncture. Still the People rag'd against the Two Brothers, and ev'ry Success of the *French* inflam'd them the more. I will not enter into the Particulars of their Death, but only repeat what *Sir William Temple* writes of it. " In the mean time the State of

" and the Government of *Holland*, took a  
 " New Form, and with it a New Heart.  
 " Monsieur *De Wit* and his Brother had  
 " been Massacred by the sudden Fury of  
 " the People, and by the Fate of Ministers  
 " that Govern by a Party or Faction, who are  
 " usually Sacrific'd to the first great Mis-  
 " fortunes abroad that fall in to aggravate,  
 " or the general Discontents at home.  
 " The Fact, and the manner having been  
 " very unusual, may be the Subject of  
 " other Enquiries, as it was of mine  
 " which gave me this Account. The  
 " *Ruard* of *Pullen*, Eldest Brother to Mon-  
 " sieur *De Wit*, had been accus'd of a  
 " Design upon the Prince's Life, and of  
 " endeavouring by Money, to engage one  
 " of his Highness's Domesticks in that  
 " Attempt. But no other Witnesses appear-  
 " ing, he was Sentenc'd only to be Ba-  
 " nish'd, at which the People shew'd great  
 " Dissatisfaction; being possess'd with an  
 " Opinion of his Guilt. The Morning  
 " he was to come out of Prison, Mon-  
 " sieur *De Wit*, against the Opinion of his  
 " Friends, would needs go himself to  
 " bring him out with more Honour,  
 " and carry him out of Town, and to  
 " that Purpose went with his Coach and  
 " Four Horses to the Court. This be-  
 " ing not usual to this Minister, made  
 " the People to take more Notice of it,  
 " and gather together more Tumultu-  
 " ously; first in the Streets where he  
 " past, and then about the Court where  
 " the Prisoner was kept. Some of the

“ Train’d Bands of the *Hague*, that  
 “ were upon the Guard, mingled among  
 “ them, and began to rail aloud against  
 “ the Judgment of the Court, the Crime  
 “ of one Brother, and the Insolence of  
 “ the other, who pretended (as they said)  
 “ to carry him away in Triumph. In the  
 “ midst of this Heat and Passion, rais’d by  
 “ these kind of Discourses, among the  
 “ Populace, the Two Brothers came out;  
 “ some of the Train’d Bands stop’d them,  
 “ began to treat them at first with ill  
 “ Language, and from Words fell to  
 “ Blows; upon which Monsieur *De Wit*  
 “ foreseeing how that Tragedy would  
 “ end, took his Brother by the Hand,  
 “ and was at the same time knockt down  
 “ with the But-end of a Musket; they  
 “ were both presently laid Dead upon the  
 “ Place, then dragg’d about the Town by  
 “ the Fury of the People, and torn in  
 “ Pieces.

Such was the End of this Minister and  
 his Brother, too great to be come at by  
 due Forms, and perhaps too Innocent.  
 His Abilities none can question, whatever  
 Suspicion his Honesty lyes under; which  
 seems the more doubtful, for that from  
 his Time, the *Hollanders* fell heartily into  
 all Methods against *France*, which they  
 never would do, while he was at the Helm,  
 till utter Ruin lookt ’em in the Face, and  
 the *French Armies* were at their Gates.  
 I abhor all Appeals to the Populace, know-  
 ing they never were for, or against a Party,  
 but as their Frenzy led them: And that  
 that



that Cause, which is founded on their Protection, must be as Vile as its Projectors, and sink, whatever its Success may for a while be, to the Filth of its Origin. Yet I cannot help observing, that the Rabble have always been more Just and Reasonable in their Tumultuous Proceedings, than the Ministers of Arbitrary and Tyrannical Governments; that Nations have sometimes been delivered by the one, but never met with any thing from the other, but Misery and Destruction; and that the Multitude in their Fury are not to be so much dreaded, as the Violence and Rage of an Unjust and Revengeful Ministry.

Several Authors have Treated of what happen'd between *England, France and Holland*, in the Second Dutch War; I shall only touch upon those things that few or none have handled before, at least not so thoroughly, and to the bottom. We have already seen, by what Methods *France* engaged King *Charles* in that War, which was so Ruinous to his Honour and Interest. He broke the most advantageous Alliance he ever made, to enter into the most Scandalous one; He became a Pensioner to *France* Abroad, and a Bankrupt to his Subjects at Home; He dispens'd with the Law in his Declaration of Indulgence, and with his Word, in attacking the Dutch Fleet without a War declar'd; an Action of so foul a Nature, that it could come from nothing but *French* Councils; which the Abbot *Primi* shews very plainly. The

King of France, says he, would not suffer the Rage of the English against the Dutch to cool, but he rather endeavour'd to plunge them in a War, by such an Action as might Correspond to their Earnest Desire of being reveng'd: And the Design soon succeeded, for the French having Notice of the Return of the Dutch Smyrna Fleet, which were then at Sea, they immediately acquainted the King of England with it, and told him, " That this was a favourable  
 " Opportunity for him to engage the  
 " English in a certain War; that such  
 " a Prize would furnish him with more  
 " Money in one Day, than he could get  
 " from his Parliament in a Year, and perhaps so great a Prize, might put him  
 " during the whole Course of the War,  
 " in such a Condition, as that he would  
 " not stand in need of his Parliament;  
 " and that he ought not to let slip such  
 " an Opportunity, to revenge the Wrongs  
 " of the English, upon those who would  
 " dispute the Sovereignty of the Seas  
 " with them. These were excellent  
 Motives to a Prince, who had no great Affection for Parliaments, as we may see by his consenting to so shameful a Thing as shutting up his Exchequer; of which the Lord Arlington gives the following Account. His Majesty has resolv'd this Week in Council, to resume his Assignations, and possess himself with all his Current Revenue, postponing the Debts for a Twelvemonth, and paying only Six per Cent. of what thereof was taken up at Interest. This hath made a great Outcry in the City, and meeting with other  
 ill

ill Humors, hath begot a great deal of Angry Discourse; but we hope when those who lent the Bankers Money, shall reflect better upon it, and see their Principal and Interest better secur'd, that they will appease themselves, and have no Cause to apprehend those ill Consequences they have foretold upon it. This Upright Minister tells his Correspondent, the Money should be all paid in a Twelve-month with Interest, which is not paid yet; and that they had a better Security for their Money in the King's Word, than the Goldsmith's Notes. This was the first Tory Sponge which was ever talk'd of; and till we have such a Reign, and such a Ministry, we can never have another. The same Minister wrote to my Lord Sunderland then in Spain, His Majesty having yesterday Conven'd the Bankers before him at the Treasury, after many kind and confident Assurances given them, that he would punctually satisfy his Debt to them, either out of what the Parliament should give in the next Session, or out of his own Revenue. He told them he likewise required of them, that without delay they should take off the Stop they had made, of paying the Merchants their Current Cash, which lay deposited in their Hands, not to be lent to his Occasions, or for Interest, but for the Security of keeping it; because indeed the stop of this, was the Occasion of the great Clamour. Here again is his Majesty's Royal Word to pay the Debt in due time, which was left to one of King William's Parliaments to provide for, almost Thirty Years after. The King had stopt his Hands to the



Goldsmiths, but he will not have them stop theirs to the Merchants, for fear of the ill Consequences of their Clamour. The Merchants, says the same Lord, *not daring, or being able to Accept, or Pay any Bills of Exchange, drive their Trade Abroad, or clear their Ships at the Custom-House at Home.* This was known we find at Court, and yet every thing must be risk'd, rather than not fulfil our Engagements with the French, who were falling on the Dutch as the most Pestilent of all the Northern Hereticks; the only Reason that prevail'd with the Emperor, not to protect them as it was his Interest. The Sum stop'd by the King in the Exchequer, was very considerable; the Bankers having lodg'd 1400000 *l.* of other Mens Mony there, to receive the Interest that was promis'd them. I never met with so base an Action in all the Histories I ever read, and hope those of the Ages to come, will have none to parallel it. It is said to be the Work of the Lord Clifford, to whom this Nation would have been indebted for a much greater, had his Councils been Crown'd with Success, I mean the reconciling us to the Church of Rome. It was he that put the King on an *Indulgence* for all Religions, that his own the *Popish*, might fare as well as others. What he thought of those Matters, will be seen by a Conversation he held with a Man of Worth, with great freedom about that time; He told him, "The King if he would be firm to himself, might settle what Religion he  
 " pleas'd,

“ pleas’d, and carry the Government to  
“ what height he would; for if Men were  
“ assur’d of the Liberty of their Consci-  
“ ences, and undisturbed in their Pro-  
“ perties, able and upright Judges made in  
“ *Westminster Hall*, to judge the Causes of  
“ *Meum & Tuum*; and if on the other  
“ hand, the Fort of *Tilbury* was finished,  
“ to bridle the City, the Fort of *Plymouth*  
“ to secure the West, and Arms for 20000  
“ in each of these, and in *Hull* for the  
“ Northern Parts, with some addition,  
“ which might be easily and undiscernably  
“ made to the Forces now on Foot, there  
“ were none that would have either Will,  
“ Opportunity or Power to resist. To this  
he added; “ He was so Sincere in the main-  
“ tenance of Property, and Liberty of  
“ Conscience, that if he had his Will, tho’  
“ he should introduce a Bishop of *Durham*,  
(which was the Instance he then made, that See  
being then Vacant) of another Religion, yet  
“ he would not disturb any of the Church  
“ beside, but suffer them to dye away;  
“ and not by his Change, (how hasty so  
“ ever he was in it) overthrow either of  
“ those Principles; and therefore he de-  
“ sired he might be thought an Honest  
“ Man, as to his Part of the Declaration,  
“ for he meant it really. As good a Catho-  
lick as he was, he would not turn out all  
the Bishops at once, nor bring in Popery  
in less than twenty Years time, when they  
were all Dead. And *England* would have  
been mightily oblig’d to him for his Pati-  
ence.

These

These two Notable Events were preceded by a Merrier one, and that is the Story of the *Tacht*, which was sent out purposely to Bully the *Dutch Fleet*, which then was going to Sea, expecting rather that King *Charles* should joyn his with theirs, pursuant to the *Triple League*, than side with the *French*. But his *Britannick Majesty* got over that Alliance, and the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, to oblige his Brother of *France*, who must surely have hid no Part of his Politicks from the Court of *England*; the Stile they us'd. having so near a Resemblance with that of *France*: For as *Lewis XIV.* could keep the Interest of Treaties, without standing to the Letter, so King *Charles* in his Declaration of War, has some Expressions which made all the World laugh, they were so Whimsical and Ridiculous. The Words were, *And whereas we are engaged by a Treaty, to support the Peace made at Aix la Chapelle, we do finally declare, that notwithstanding the Prosecution of this War, we will maintain the True Intent and Scope of the said Treaty, and that in all the Alliances which we have, or shall make in the Progress of this War, we have and will take Care to preserve the Ends thereof inviolable.*

His Most Christian Majesty was not at much Trouble, to draw up his Declaration of War. He only told the World he was dissatisf'd with the Dutch. A sufficient Reason for him at that time, to put himself at the Head of a Royal Army, to maintain his Glory. But in his Old Age, he



he has receiv'd so much Just Cause of *Dissatisfaction* from them, in the many Defeats his Royal Armies have met with from theirs and their Allies, that neither He nor his Successors, will ever again presume to defy all the World in such Imperious Language; as if he was accountable neither to Justice nor Reason, but War and Peace depended on his Whimsies. He has had enough of it lately, and his begging Peace in almost all the Courts of *Europe*, is the Righteous Reward of his Pride, in Warring with them out of Wantonness.

King *Charles* was not on such Terms at Home or Abroad, as to give himself those Airs; and therefore some better Account of the Occasion of his Rupture was expected. That of the *Flag* was the most Popular, because every one in *England* wish'd we could gain that Point, as Confirming our Claim of the *Dominion of the Sea*. But no Reasonable Man could think the whole *Dutch* Navy, with their Admiral Aboard, ought to veil the Bonnet to a little *English* Boat, sent out to Insult them, as the manner of doing it made appear. Sir *William Temple's* Lady was Aboard that *Yacht*, and he gives this Account of that Adventure, in a Letter to his Father Sir *John Temple*. "In *July* the "*Dutch* Fleet was Floating in the Channel, to shew, I suppose, that they were "in Condition to meet any of those "Dangers they began to suspect from "the Motions of *France*, and from our  
" late

" late Conduct. When the Captain of  
 " the *Yacht*, that was order'd to Convey  
 " my Wife over, took his leave at Court,  
 " he had Publick Orders given him, if he  
 " came in fight of the *Dutch Fleet*, he  
 " should Sail through them, and shoot at  
 " those Ships that were next him, till he  
 " made them strike Sail, or till they shot  
 " at him again, and then pursue his  
 " Course. He pass'd it seems into *Holland*  
 " without seeing them, but as he return'd,  
 " he met the Fleet; and Sailing up to  
 " them, made several Shot at those near  
 " him: Upon which they seem'd at least,  
 " not to know what he meant, and to  
 " believe he might be in some Distress,  
 " and the Admiral sent a Boat Aboard  
 " him to inquire. The Captain told them  
 " he had been sent to bring back the  
 " *English Ambassadress*, with her Family  
 " from *Holland*; and had Orders to make  
 " the *Dutch Fleet* strike wherever he met  
 " with them in the Channel. Upon this  
 " Message by the Boat, Vice-Adiral *Ghent*  
 " came Aboard the *Yacht*, upon a Com-  
 " pliment to my Wife, which he per-  
 " form'd very handsomely; and after-  
 " wards desir'd to speak with the Captain,  
 " of whom he inquir'd the Reason of his  
 " Shooting, and receiving the same An-  
 " swer which had been given to the first  
 " Boat, he said it was a Point they had  
 " receiv'd no Order in from their Masters,  
 " and did not know how that Affair was  
 " agreed between his Majesty and the  
 " States. But tho' it were settled, yet the  
 " Captain

" Captain could not pretend the Fleet and  
 " Admiral should strike to a *Yacht*, which  
 " was but a Pleasure-Boat, or at least  
 " serv'd only for *Passage*; and could not  
 " pass for one of the King's Men of War.  
 " The Captain said he had his Orders,  
 " and was bound to follow them. After  
 " *Van Ghent* was gone, the Captain per-  
 " plex'd enough, came to my Wife, and  
 " desir'd to know what she pleas'd he  
 " should do in that Case, which she saw  
 " he did not like very well, and would  
 " be glad to get out of by her help. She  
 " told him he knew his Orders best, and  
 " what he was to do upon them, which  
 " she left to him to follow, as he thought  
 " fit without any regard to her and her  
 " Children. He pursued his Course, and  
 " Landed her safe; after which, she went  
 " to Court, and was very well receiv'd,  
 " and much commended for her Part, in  
 " what had pass'd. And at Night Sir  
 " *Lionel Jenkins* was sent to take her Ex-  
 " amination in Form. Upon the whole  
 " Matter of Fact, when I went next to  
 " the King's *Levee*, he began to speak of  
 " my Wife's Carriage at Sea, and to com-  
 " mend it, as much as he blam'd the  
 " Captains; and said she had shew'd more  
 " Courage than he. And then falling up-  
 " on the *Dutch* Insolence, I said that how-  
 " ever Matters went, it must be confess'd  
 " that there was some Merit in my Fa-  
 " mily, since I had made the Alliance  
 " with *Holland*, and my Wife was like to  
 " have the Honour of making the War.  
 " The



“ The King smiled as well as I, who had  
 “ found this the only way to turn the  
 “ Discourse into good Humor, and so it  
 “ ended. Thus was *Christendom* to be  
 made a Scene of Slaughter and Blood, out  
 of *Frolick* in one Prince, and *Ambition* in  
 another. I shall not pretend to write the  
 History of that War, which has been so  
 often written of; contenting my self with  
 some Parts of it, and Particulars that do  
 not occur in other Relations.

The People of *England* were never in  
 Earnest in the *Dutch War*, after the Year  
 1665. And tho' the Parliament then Sit-  
 ting, had so long been under Obligations  
 to the Court, yet they were not very for-  
 ward to assist his Majesty in it; so that  
 King *Charles* was fore'd to think of Peace  
 sooner than the *French King*, who in all  
 the Offers he made the *Dutch*, never con-  
 sider'd his Majesty's Interest; tho King  
*Charles* was so Complaisant, as to declare  
 he would make no Peace, unless his Bro-  
 ther of *France*, was satisfy'd in all his  
 Demands; one of which was to set the  
*Romish Religion and Priests* on an equal Foot  
 with the *Protestants* in *Holland*; and the  
 former to be allow'd and maintain'd by  
 the State as well as the latter. The *French*  
 were at that time at the height of their  
 Glory; above half of the Seven *Dutch*  
 Provinces were in their Possession, and  
 the best Towns in *Flanders*. *Germany* could  
 make no Stand against them, and *England*  
 only had it in her Power to deliver *Europe*  
 from approaching Slavery. Yet at that  
 very

very Time, our Correspondencies with France were closer than ever; and least our Engagements against the Dutch were not strong enough, Ambassadors are sent to the French King at his Camp in the Heart of Holland, to make stronger. These Ambassadors were the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Arlington, and Lord Hallifax. The Dutch judging by the plain Reason of our own Interest in their Deliverance, welcom'd them, when they Landed as Persons that were come on that Errand. The Common Belief in England and Holland, says Sir William Temple, made the Subject of their Embassy, to be our Jealousy of the French Conquests going too fast, whilst ours were so lame; and great hopes were rais'd in Holland, that it was to stop their Course or Extent, but these were soon dash'd, by the Return of the Ambassadors, after having renew'd and fasten'd the Measures formerly taken between the Two Crowns. And the Ambassadors were indeed content as they past through Holland, that the first should be thought; which gave Occasion for a very good Repartee of the Princess Dowager to the Duke of Buckingham, who visited her as he past through the Hague; and talking much of their being good Hollanders, she told him that was more than they ask'd, which was only that they should be good Englishmen; he answer'd her they were not only so, but good Dutchmen too; that indeed they did not use Holland like a Mistress, but they Lov'd her like a Wife; to which she reply'd, Vrayment je croy que vous nous aymez comme vous aymez la Votre. Truly I think  
you

*you Love us as you do yours.* However these Plenipotentiaries were corrupted by *French Gold*, yet they were Men of Capacity, and not of that Size of Understanding, that their Character for Abilities might be as great a Shame to their Country, as that for Probity was to themselves. They understood the True Interest of it, and it was generally hop'd they intended to prosecute it. Both *English* and *Dutch* flatter'd themselves; they came purposely to put a stop to the Progress of the *French King's Arms*. They had Conferences to this Purpose, with the States Deputies, to whom they us'd all Expressions imaginable, both of Kindness to *Holland*, and of Concernment and Trouble, to see the *French* so far advanc'd. They gave the *Dutch* Ministers to understand, they would engage that the *French King* should give up all his Conquests for *Maestricht*, or if he would not do it, they were empower'd to enter into New Measures with the States, to prevent the Destruction of the *Common-Wealth*. But they did not long keep in this Tone, for they had not been many Hours in the *French* Camp, which was not far off, before their Judgments were better inform'd, and the Terror of the *French King's* Greatness vanish'd. His Most Christian Majesty's Royal Eloquence or Bounty, so thoroughly convinc'd them of the Moderation and Justice of his Intentions, that they forgot all their Fair Promises, and Right Reasoning at the *Hague*. *The increase of the French Power was not to be suspected*

or



or fear'd, for they were Generous to abuse it, to use the Words of an Author of those Times. And the first Message they sent the Prince of Orange, after they had left him in so good an Humour, was, *That the States were to give Satisfaction to both Kings, jointly, and that neither Crown cou'd, or wou'd Treat without it.* The Prince of Orange and the States, were infinitely surpriz'd at this change of Mind in the Plenipotentiaries. The Prince (who had full Power given him to Treat and Conclude with England,) that he might not be held longer in suspense, answer'd the Plenipotentiaries, he desir'd to know what would satisfie both Crowns; which was no less than the Sacrificing their Religion and Liberty. We have already observ'd, that the French King insisted on the Toleration of *Papists*, on their Admission to Offices, and the Priests to Pensions, and that our Plenipotentiaries joyn'd with the French in all their Demands. Mr. Secretary Trevor, who, for favouring the State's Interest, in opposition to the French, was so far in Disgrace at Court, that he was dismiss'd the Committee for Foreign Affairs, a thing never known to have happen'd to a Secretary of State, is said to have written the following QUERIES on the Occasion of the Plenipotentiaries being sent to the French Camp.

I. *Whether they were sent only to promote the French Conquests? And if not, how they could think it advisable, by making the Peace impossible, to force the Dutch (as far as in them*

them lay) to cast themselves into the Arms of the French King, and submit themselves to his Domination?

II. Whether they can deny they knew the Joint Proposals tendered to the Dutch, should not be granted, since the French Demands alone had been unanimously rejected? And in that Case, how agreeable it was to the Interest of England, to make it impossible for the Dutch to give his Majesty any Satisfaction.

III. Whether they had not received, as well from the Prince of Orange, as from the States Commissioners, all Publick Assurances of the infinite Desire they had to see his Majesty return to his former Amity with them, and of their readiness to purchase it at any Rate, that the Condition they were in would bear? If so, how faithfully the Plenipotentiaries discharg'd their Trust, in neglecting those Offers, and entering into a New Engagement which was so Prejudicial to England.

IV. How far those that were join'd in Commission with them, did concur with them in their Judgement; and whether all those Considerations, with many other, were not represented to them and urg'd by some, who had no other End but to serve their Master faithfully?

V. Whether it was for that Reason, they oppos'd so fiercely, my Lord Viscount Hallifax (who came a Day or two after them) his appearing and acting Jointly with them, though Commissioned in as full, and as ample manner as themselves.

VI. Who

VI. Who were these (after my Lord Halifax could be kept out no longer) who went privately to the French Camp, under several Pretences, and had still Negotiations of their own on Foot?

VII. Whether they had Orders to call the French King, the King of France, and to Name him still before their Master, as well as to set in the first Place, the French Demands before that of his Majesty; as all this was done in the Copies of Agreement they had made, and of both Kings Pretensions which they sent together to the Prince of Orange, by Sir Gabriel Sylvius?

VIII. And Lastly, How far their Instructions will justify their Standing, in the behalf of the French, upon a Publick Exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion in the United Provinces, the Churches to be divided, and the Romish Churches maintain'd out of the Publick Revenue.

By this we may see, that in the most deprav'd Times, there have always been Englishmen affectionately dispos'd to the Publick Good, and the Cause of Liberty. And that even in that Reign, which none sure will pretend to be the Soundest in Politicks, the Ministry was not intirely in the Interest of France, since one of the Secretaries still maintain'd his Integrity, and would not suffer his Judgement to be impos'd on, by French Reasons, or French Gold. It was this Love of his Country, that inclin'd him to the Dutch, and that Inclination of his, made the French Faction



his Enemies; shut him out of the Secret of their Correspondence, and preserv'd him from both the Gain and the Guilt of it. It will be impossible in an *English* Ministry, ever to meet with so General a Corruption, that not one of the Set shall be true to his Prince; not one of them see through, and oppose the Subtle and Dangerous Designs of *France*. There will always be found a faithful Patriot, to detect and prevent the Treacherous Practices of *French* Emisseries, whose Devices never succeeded long in this Kingdom, and ever ended in their Confusion and Ruin. It will not be question'd, but the Court of *England*, in 1672. was almost as much *French*, as that of *France*. The Character of the then Ministry, makes a dismal Period in our History, especially in the following Reflections, which I met with in a Writer, their Contemporary, among many others of that kind. How faithfully says he, have our Ministers discharged their Trust in these great Emergencies? How free have they been from Dependencies in Foreign Courts? How far have they been Jealous of their Reputation in that Particular? What great Care have they had of keeping up the Credit and the Reputation of the Triple League, and of their own Masters with it? He speaks then of their backwardness, (not to say worse) in redressing, or at least declaring against all the Wrongs done by the *French*, as well to his Majesty himself, as to his Subjects. Their Industrious Endeavours, and various Stratagems, to engage his Majesty and the Nation

Nation in this War; their ingrossing all the  
 finest of Concernments, and concealing the most  
 important Debates and Resolutions, from his  
 Majesty's Privy Council: Nay, their keeping it  
 unseasonably from his great Council, and putting  
 of their Sessions, lest they might discover their  
 Designs? Lastly, the Carriage of some of them  
 in Holland; of the Care they took of the Inter-  
 est both of England and of the Protestant  
 Religion. Thus it appears very plainly,  
 that whenever England and Holland have  
 been in Danger, they have met with such  
 as would Traffick with France, and barter  
 the Publick Welfare of both Nations for  
 her Pistoles. The Interest of the Maritime  
 Powers, to unite firmly against France,  
 has been so obvious from the very Foun-  
 dation of the Common-Wealth of the  
 United Provinces, that it has been the first  
 Principle in our Politicks, which none ever  
 acted against, but he first Sacrifices his  
 Honour and his Understanding, to his  
 Pride and Avarice; and one may venture  
 to affirm, there never was, and never will  
 be, an Englishman and a Protestant, a Friend  
 to France, but he must forego even Com-  
 mon Sense and Common Honesty. We  
 have seen what Resentment has been shewn  
 by part of the Legislature lately; for that  
 the Dutch, and others of our Allies, have  
 not done what it is said they Stipulated  
 for in the late Glorious War: And what  
 a Confederate King Charles had of Lewis  
 XIV. in the War with the Dutch, is in  
 the Memory of many. When he had  
 brought us into that fatal Rupture, how

did he perform his Stipulation; how did  
 he act with his Fleet, while with his Ar-  
 mies he Triumph'd over the United Pro-  
 vinces, which was then our Barrier, and  
 always will be so not only to us, but the  
 Liberties of Europe. It was manifest, says  
 Mr. Marvell, in one of his Tracts, that in all  
 these Wars, the French meant nothing less  
 than really to assist us. He had first  
 " practis'd the same Art at Sea, when he  
 " was in League with the *Hollanders* a-  
 " gainst us, his Navy having never done  
 " them any Service, for his Business was  
 " only to see us batter one another. And  
 " now he was on the *English* side, he only  
 " studied to sound our Seas, to spie our  
 " Ports, to learn our Building, to con-  
 " template our way of Fighting, to con-  
 " sume ours, and preserve his own Navy,  
 " to increase his Commerce, and to order  
 " all so, that the Two Great Naval Pow-  
 " ers of *Europe* being crush'd together,  
 " he might remain sole Arbitrator of the  
 " Ocean, and by Consequence Master of  
 " all the Isles and Continent. To which  
 " Purpose, the Conspirators furnish'd him  
 " with all possible Opportunities. There-  
 " fore it was, that Monsieur *De Bysses*,  
 " tho' a Person otherwise, of Try d  
 " Courage and Prudence, yet never did  
 " worse than in the third and last Engage-  
 " ment; and because the Brave Monsieur  
 " *De Martel* did better, and could not  
 " endure a Thing that looked like Cow-  
 " ardice or Treachery, tho' for the Service  
 " of his Monarch, he Commanded him in;  
 " rated



rated him, and at his Return Home he was, as was then reported, discountenanced, and dismiss from his Command, for no other Crime, but his breaking the *French Measures*, by adventuring one of those Sacred Ships, in the *English*, or rather his own Masters Quarrel. Let any one judge now, whether the late Greatness of *France*, proves the *French* to have the greater, or their Neighbours the Baser Souls. Is it not a very Melancholly Reflection, that a *Corrupt Administration* should suffer a Power to increase, so as not to be reduc'd by a *Wise and Happy one*, at the Expence of 150 Millions. How much has *England* paid since, for a Million or two dextrously distributed in King *Charles's* Court, between the Master and his Servants? What a Bargain was made for their Posterity? If faithless Ministers were capable of Compassion, or any Publick Sentiment, they would abhor the Thoughts of selling that so basely and cheaply, which must be recover'd at a thousand times the Cost, besides the Expence of a Sea of Blood, too meanly rated by some Princes and their Ministers. If such a Minister would seriously ask himself what will the next Age, or perhaps this, pay for the 10000 Pistoles that have been given me, He would tremble at the Horrid Commerce he has driven, and look on the Guilty Pieces with the same Horror, the Betrayer of his God lookt on the Price of his Treason. We can have no such Fear for our selves, being happy in a Sovereign

that has all along shewn the most Generous Concern for the *Common Cause*; and in her Reign, *France* is reduc'd to a Condition of begging that Peace she so Insolently refus'd the *Dutch* forty Years ago. She would now rejoyce to receive it from those Powers over whom she has so long Triumph'd in her Medals and Spectacles. And it is our Happiness, that she has nothing left but her Bribery to save her from the Ruin she threaten'd others with, or the Jealousies she may raise among her Enemies. As Poor as she is, she will find Money to work on the Frailty of those that she thinks are penetrable by it. But where such are to be found, for my Part I cannot tell, and promise my self from the Sincerity and Genius of the present Administration, that she must despair of making any other use of the *Spanish Mines* in *Mexico* and *Peru*, than to pay her dispirited Troops, and waste on Cowardice, what she got by Perjury and Surprize.

I never intended to write a History of any particular Period, nor to enter into the Detail of any one Event; but rather to shew that it has been owing to our selves, that *France* has given us so much Fear and Trouble; and that the only way we have to prevent her doing it again, is to be hearty in our Alliances with the *United Provinces*; and all other Powers against her, to be insensible of her Flatteries and Promises, not to trust her till she has no Means of being false to Advantage; and to fly those Practices which  
made

made us so contemptible in past Reigns. I shall say no more of the War between us and the *Dutch*, and the Peace that follow'd it in 1674, than that we were no more Sincere to them in the latter, than the *French* were with us in the former; and that by our dissembled Friendship, the States suffer'd as much as they had done by our Arms. They were amus'd by us, and kept in suspense, while *Leopold XIV.* was carrying his Arms over the *Netherlands*, which hinder'd their putting their whole Strength to the War, in hopes of our finishing it by Mediation or Succours, which our Ministers had not in their Thoughts. What Opinion the World had of King *Charles's* Conduct, is as well known as what that was, and it would be impertinent to enlarge upon it, after the many Authors that have spoken of it. Wherefore I shall add only what Sir *William Temple* observes, in one of his Letters from *Brussels* in that Year. The Spaniards interpret very ill, the Offers of his Majesty's Mediation I made at the Hague, and believe it upon Concert with France, and to the end of inducing Holland to a separate Peace from them. I cannot but reflect upon the strange Difference I found in the Consideration I test of his Majesty in these Countries, and what I meet now, which is ground'd upon the belief of his being so much in with France, which our Court took no great Pains to conceal; for after they were put upon a Necessity of ending the *Dutch War*, by the unalterable and Universal Aversion of the People to it, yet  
the



the English, Scots, and Irish Regiments, which were abroad in the French Service, were not only kept in their full Complement, but new Numbers of Soldiers daily Transported thither; making up in all, as is related, a constant Body of 10000 Men, who often turn'd the Fortune of Battle on the French side by their Valour. Yet all the while was King Charles acting the Part of a Mediator, after the Parliament had desir'd him to make a Peace with Holland; and how the Ministers manag'd Matters on that Occasion, may be seen in a Book lately Printed, and mention'd before in this Treatise, call'd *Peace with France, and War with Holland*, suppos'd to be written by Mr. Marvel. He says, Therefore they were resolv'd by all their Influence and Industry, (tho' the Profit of the War did not wholly redound to the English Nation; and however, in case of Peace, it was our Interest, that if any of France should be depressed to any Equality) to labour that by this Mediation, France might be the only Gainer; and having all quiet about him, might be at perfect Leisure to attend their Project upon England. And one of these our Statesmen being press'd, solv'd all Arguments to the contrary, with an Oraculous French Question. Faut-il que toute se fasse par Politique rien in par Amitie? Must all things be done by Maxims, or Reason of State; nothing for Affection? If ever Politician since Aristotle's Days, thought of mixing Friendship with Politicks, or injuring his own Nation out of kindness to another, and at the same time pretended to

to either Honesty or Capacity, then let the *Cabal* be an Example to others, and teach them out of Good Nature, to give up their Liberties, Properties, Religion, and every thing worth giving. I hope we shall never live to see any *English* Administration, have such a Deamess for *France*, as to part with a Village to her out of Affection; for Love does not stop at little things only, and if she can get so far into our Friendship, if she so far bewiches us, as to make us fond of her after a Tyranny of a whole *Chimærick*; and if we give her any thing out of Affection, she will soon wheedle us out of all. Such was her good Fortune, in *K. Charles the Second's* Reign, and the Reigns of all the Princes his Contemporaries, that the Ministers every where were in Love with *French* Politicks, whether like other unlawful Amours, it was Venal and Mercenary, I leave to others to judge. And whether otherwise any Reasonable Creature, who might have enjoy'd the Liberty at Home, would have preferr'd the Maxims of a Prince, who first enslav'd his own Subjects, and then endeavour'd by Fraud and Force, to make the rest of *Europe* as wretched. It must be own'd he has a vast Genius for Rule, Cultivated by the longest Reign of any Prince in the *French* History; That he has taken all the ways he could think of, to endear himself to his People, except the only Just One, to give them their Liberty: That he struck in with their Natural Vain Humors, and making a false  
Glory

Glory his Aim in all things, gave the Vilest of his Slaves the Vanity to think, a share of that Brightness reflected on them, which has supported and comforted them all in Slavery and Poverty. It must be own'd his Merit was greater in Politicks, than that of all the Ministers of *Europe*, since he made Fools of them all. And whether he did it by Gold, or by Art, 'tis no matter; he did it, and that's sufficient for a King. But when in better Times a Hero arose, whom he could not corrupt or deceive, when he was succeeded by a General, who by many Glorious Victories, and Wise Negotiations, baffled all his Councils and Armies, beat him out of the Field, and out of the Cabinet; and acquir'd an Immortal Name, by True Glory, in a Tenth Part of the Time of his Boasted Reign, We cannot that consider this *Deathless* Monarch, who was Deity'd by his Subjects, as a Man whom Fortune brought forth in a Lucky Period, for his Fame, when the World was full of Corruption, like *Rome*, might have been bought, if it could have found a Purchaser. He was the fairest Bidder, and no wonder he approach'd so near to the Universal Monarchy. *Sweden* and *Denmark* had just commenc'd Slaves as well as *France*. The Empire was harrisd by the Infidels, and under the Dominion of a Prince, who would rather have done his Business by Prayers than Arms. *Spain* was Govern'd by a Child, *Portugal* by a Madman, *Holland* by a Faction, *England* by the Ladies,

and



and *France* by a King, Instructed in the Arts, and Enamour'd of the Charms of Power, by the Lessons and Example of a mighty Minister, who had the advantage of a Predecessor greater still than himself, as well in the Art, as the desire of Empire. Since all this is so well known, that what I have said may be thought an impertinent Digression, What Madness would it be, for such as knowing by what Artifices that King rose to so Exorbitant a Power, to give into his Snares again, and to be deluded by a Prince in his Doatage, and despair when they might probably get more by being Honest, than by serving him? Tho' we are our selves secure from the Fears of any such Slavery and Treachery; yet if he should continue in Possession of the Mines of *Mexico*, and the Mountains of *Potosi*, we may reasonably fear Humane Nature will not be every where as perfect as 'tis with us; and that having more to give, he may acquire still more than ever. It would be no hard, nor no tedious Work, to render those Mines as useless to him, as they were to his Father. The Confederate Armies may next Year Forrage near his own Palace, and his Capital be the next City in *France* that pays them Contributions. There's nothing that can stop them, but Disunion and Deceit, but Corruption and Craft. And since it is so Scandalous to be bubbled by one that has been so well beaten, 'tis to be hop'd the Allies will always have in view, for what they begun the War, and for what only they

they should not in it beget such Reflections as these, that I lookt into the *Journal* of the French King's History, as far as I had Opportunities, without pretending to the Confidence of his Councils, or particular Advantages to know them above others, that would be at the same trouble: But I knew there were not many who would make such inquiries, and yet might be pleas'd to have them set before them. The use they may be to Persons of so much Curiosity, will compensate for the Pains I have taken, and their own just Reflections will make the best Moral to this History.

In looking over several Voluminous Histories, and other Collections relating to my Subject, I met with some Curious Papers that are very *à propos* to the Matters now in Debate, both at the Press and in Conversation; such as the *Principles of the Revolution*, the *Partition of the Spanish Monarchy*, and the like: And among others, I could not overlook a Famous *Intrigue*, manag'd by the late Duke of *Montague* in *France*, which occasion'd all the Earl of *Danby's* Troubles when he lost the Staff; and that Affair being now set in its full Light, I shall endeavour to Collect it as I find it in several Places, and leave it entire hereafter; especially because the Story is a particular Proof of what I have hitherto been advancing, of the Many Correspondence between *France* and *England*. For whoever was the Agent, it is allow'd by all, that the Fact is true. Of the Endearment

ment between the Two Crowns, I shall speak further, in talking of the Private League between King James and Lewis XIV, which I find attested, sufficiently to convince a Man who has Liv'd in that Reign, or has carefully and impartially read the History of it. But to preserve a little, the Order of Chronology, I shall continue this Treatise in the first Place, with the Story of the Famous Test of *Abhorrence*, an Instance of the Superlative Loyalty of the Reign in which it was to have been Enacted, in which will be seen what Opposition it met with even at that Time; and that the *Nine in Ten* did not fall intirely into Principles against the Revolution, till Two or Three and Twenty Years after their *Deliverance* by it, from *Popery* and *Slavery*. So long Time, did they take to arrive at such a detestable Degree of Ingratitude, as to insult the Memory of their Deliverer, and to unsay and undo all they have been doing and saying ever since. A Frenzy which is the harder to Cure, for that 'tis a Religious one; it being made a Damnable Sin now by the Condemn'd Doctor and his Brethren, to do what if we had not done in the last Eighty Eight, would have Damn'd us long ago, if there's Damnation in Popery. There will be no better way to give a true Idea of the Intention of that Test, than the Timing and Management of it, which corresponds exactly to the late *Era* of the Doctor's Tryal, and the Circumstances preceding and attending it.

Mr.



Mr. Marvel in his *Growth of Popery*, relates the Matter thus, "The Conspirators began therefore, after fifteen Years, to remember that there were such a sort of Men in England, as the *Old Cavalier Party*; and reckon'd that by how much the more Generous, they were more Credulous than others, and so more fit to be again abused. These were told, that all was at Stake, Church and State; That the Nation was running again into *Forty One*; That this was the time to refresh their Ancient Merit, and receive the Recompence double of all their Loyalty; and that hence forward the *Cavaliers* should have the Lottery of all the Great or Small Offices in the Kingdom, and not so much as Sir *Joseph Williamson* to have a share in it. I wish the Reader would make the Comparifon between the Year 1675, and 1710. himself; for I am very little verft in Parallels, and whatever my Imagination may furnish me with for my self, I should certainly want Words to exprefs it; wherefore I shall be content with repeating what this Honest and Witty Author says on that Subject. "By this means, they indeed designed to have rais'd a Civil War, for which they had all along provided, and to which they had on purpose, both in *England* and *Scotland*, given all Provocation, if it would have been taken; that so they might have a *Rafe Campaign* of Religion, Government, and Property. ety.

ety. But there could not have been a  
 greater Affront and Indignity offer'd to  
 those Gentlemen (and the best did so re-  
 sent it) than, whether these Hopes were  
 real or not, to think them Men that might  
 be hir'd to any base Action, or whether,  
 as hitherto but imaginary, that by Erect-  
 ing the late King's Statue, that whole  
 Party might be rewarded in Effigie.  
 While these things were upon the An-  
 vil, the 10th of *November* was come for  
 the Parliament's Sitting, but that was  
 put off till the 13th of *April*, 1675.  
 And in the mean time, which fell out  
 most opportune for the Conspirators,  
 these Councils were matur'd, and some-  
 thing further to be contriv'd, that was  
 yet wanting: The Parliament accord-  
 ingly meeting, and the House of Lords,  
 as well as that of the Commons, being  
 in Deliberation of several wholesome  
 Laws, such as the present State of the  
 Nation required, the Great Design came  
 out, in a Bill unexpectedly offer'd one  
 Morning in the House of Lords, where-  
 by all such as enjoy'd any Beneficial  
 Office or Employment, Ecclesiastical,  
 Civil or Military, to which was ad-  
 ded Privy Councillours, Justices of the  
 Peace; and Members of Parliament,  
 were under a Penalty to take the Oath,  
 and make the Declaration of Abhor-  
 rence ensuing.

M

I A.B.

**I** A. B. do declare, That it is not Lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King, and that I do abhor that Traiterous Posuion of taking Arms by his Authority, against his Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him in Pursuance of such Commission. And I do Swear that I will not at any time, endeavour the Alteration of the Government, either in Church or State.

So help me G O D.

This Test was incerted in the *Five Mile Act* in Oxford, relating to Nonconformists, in the Year 1665. but was Vigorously oppos'd by the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Southampton, Lord Wharton, Lord Ashley, and others. It was seconded the same Session, by another Bill in the House of Commons, to have impos'd that Oath on the whole Nation, but it was thrown out, and that very remarkably; for Mr. *Peregrine Bertie* being newly Chosen, was that Morning introduc'd into the House by his Brother, afterwards Earl of Lindsey, and Sir *Thomas Osborn*, now Duke of L. who all three gave their Votes against that Bill; and the Numbers were so even upon the Division, that their Three Votes carried the Question against it. This indeed is not the only Time his Grace the Duke of *Leeds* has exerted himself in the Cause of Liberty; what he did in Concert with the late Duke of *Devonshire* in the North, at the Revolution, is but a later Instance of the Just Principle by which he



he acted, in giving his Negative to this Test, Four or Five and Twenty Years before. When it was brought into the House in Seventy Five, many were the Brave and Noble Patriots, who declar'd against it, and their Names ought to Live with Honour, in the Grateful Remembrance of their Posterity. I cannot agree with a certain Writer at that time, in his rude Expressions, speaking of this Bill, and whence it came. How true his Remark is, I leave to the Judgement of others. This *State Master-Piece* says he, was hatch'd (as almost all the Mischiefs of the World had hitherto been) amongst the Great Churchmen, and is a Project of several Years, but found not Ministers bold enough to go through with it, until these New Ones, who wanting a better Bottom to support them, betook themselves wholly to this, to make a distinct Party from the rest of the Nation, of High Episcopal Men, and the Old Cavaliers, who were to swallow the hopes of enjoying all the Power, and Offices of the Kingdom. They design'd also, to have the Government of the Church sworn to as unalterable, and so tacitly own'd to be of Divine Right; which tho' inconsistent with the Oath of Supremacy, yet the Churchmen easily break through all Obligations whatsoever, to attain this Station. Then in requital to the Crown, they declare the Government Absolute and Arbitrary, and allow Monarchy, as well as Episcopacy, to be Jure Divino, and not to be bounded or limited by Humane Laws. And a little after he proceeds thus, " And now comes this Memorable Session of April 13. 75, than

“ which never any came with more Ex-  
 “ pectation of the Court, or Dread and  
 “ Apprehension of the People. The Officers  
 “ Court-Lords, and Bishops, were clearly  
 “ the Major Vote in the Lord’s House;  
 “ and they assur’d themselves, to have  
 “ the Commons as much at their dispose,  
 “ when they reckon’d the Number of the  
 “ Courtiers, Officers, Pensioners, increas’d  
 “ by the addition of the Church and Ca-  
 “ valier Party; besides the Address they  
 “ made to Men of the best Quality there,  
 “ by hopes of Honour, great Employment,  
 “ and such Things as would take. In a  
 “ Word, the *French* King’s Ministers, who  
 “ are the great Chapmen of the World,  
 “ did not out do ours at this time, &c.  
 When Laws are made, every one knows  
 what Homage is due to them; a Passive  
 Obedience is the least of our Duty, but  
 their Sanction is lessen’d in the Minds of  
 Honest and Thinking Men, when they know  
 what ill Circumstances attended their Birth,  
 and that they were the Purchase of a Party.  
 The Dispute about the *Test of Abhorrence*, was  
 a bold Struggle for Liberty; it would have  
 gone farther than the Act, 12 Car. 11. which  
 the last Address from *Radnor*, declares to be  
 the Measures of Obedience, tho’ never was  
 there greater Stress laid upon a Law, than  
 has been lately upon that. It has been the  
 Ground Work of all the Arguments us’d  
 by Men of Principles opposite to the  
 Revolution. The Divinity of the late  
 Doctrines, has not so Solid a Foundation  
 in Scripture, as in this Act; and after all  
 that

that can be said either Reasonably or Learnedly for Resistance in such Cases, as that of King *James*; all the Friends to the Ab-dication, are silenc'd by the Statute, which is not only urg'd as a Law, but as the General Sense of the Nation. 'Twas this gave me a Curiosity to inquire into the Methods that were us'd in those Times, to prepare us for Slavery; and the Reasons given to justify them, are the same with which our Pulpits now ring. The Reverend Fathers of our Church, have since the Revolution, aton'd by their Zeal for the Publick Good, for all the Court Complaisance of their Predecessors. The Prelates have in all Reigns, been the best Instances of the good or ill Disposition of the Prince. Their Order therefore is not touch'd by the Demerit of such as have dishonour'd it. The Guilt returns to the Source from whence they themselves came; and since in ill Times, every thing is corrupted, it cannot be expected that a Prince will then take much Care whom he sets over our Teachers; since 'tis not his Interest that the People should be well Taught. Good Princes have nothing more at Heart, than to supply the Church with good Governors. His late Majesty, and our present Sovereign, have set a Bright Example in this, to their Successors. And the Neglect of their Predecessors, in the Choice of Bishops, was one of the greatest Grievances their Subjects had to complain of. We shall from the above-mention'd Author, see how they manag'd themselves with respect



to the *Test* I am now treating of. He goes on, " In this Session, the Bishops wholly laid aside their Zeal against Popery. The Committee of the whole House for Religion, which the Country Lords had caused to be set up again, by the Example of the former Sessions, could hardly get at any time, a Day appointed for their Sitting ; and the main thing design'd for a Bill Voted in the former Session, *The Marrying our Princes to none but Protestants*, was rejected, and carried in the Negative, by the Unanimous Votes of the Bishops Bench ; the Lay-Lords not understanding from how excellent a Principle this proceeded, commonly call'd them for that Reason, the *DeadWeight* : And they really prov'd so in the following Business ; for the third Day of this Session, *this Bill of the Test*, was brought into the Lord's House by the *Earl of L. L. C.* a Person of great Quality, but in this impos'd upon ; and received its first Reading, and Appointment for the second, without much Opposition ; the Country Lords being desirous to observe, what Weight they put upon it, or how they design'd to manage it. " Thus far my Author, who Living at that Juncture, and being as plainly appears by his Writing, well acquainted both with Men and Things, is the best Authority I can be Govern'd by on this Occasion. When this Bill, which would have reduc'd us to the miserable Condition of the *Swedes* and *Danes*, and much

much about the same time, was read a second Time, the Lord Finch, then Lord Keeper, recommended it to the House in an Elaborate Speech, calling it *A Moderate Security to the Church and Crown, which no Honest Man could refuse; and whoever did, would give great Suspicion of Dangerous and Antimonarchical Principles.* Other Lords, who were for the Bill, declaim'd very much upon the *Rebellion of the Late Times; Forty One, and Antimonarchical Principles,* being the only Topicks which some Florid Preachers and Arguers have to go upon. The Earl of Shaftsbury oppos'd it with his usual strength of Reasoning and Eloquence, and so did the Lords of the Country Party, earnestly pressing, *That the Bill might be laid aside, and that they might not be engag'd in the Debate of it; or else, that the Freedom they should be forc'd to use, in the necessary Defence of their Opinion, and the Preserving their Laws, Rights and Liberties, which this Bill would overthrow, might not be misconstrued; for there were many things that must be spoken upon the Debate, both concerning Church and State, that it was well known they had no Mind to hear.* And when it was carried by Numbers to go upon it, there was a Protestation against it, in these Words.

**W**E whose Names are under Written, being Peers of this Realm, do, according to our Rights, and the Ancient Usage of Parliaments, declare, *That the Question having been put whether the Bill, (Entitled an Act to prevent the Dangers which may arise from*

Persons disaffected to the Government,) doth so far intrench upon the Privileges of this House, that it ought therefore to be cast out, it being resolv'd in the Negative. We do humbly conceive, that any Bill, which imposeth an Oath upon the Peers with a Penalty, as this doth, that upon the Refusal of that Oath, they shall be made incapable of Sitting and Voting in this House: As it is a thing unprecedented in former Times, so is it in our Humble Opinion, the highest Invasion of the Liberties and Privileges of the Peerage, that possibly may be, and most Destructive of the Freedom which they ought to enjoy, as Members of Parliament, because the Privileges of Sitting and Voting in Parliament, is an Honour they have by Birth, and a Right so Inherent in them, and inseparable from them, as that nothing can take it away, but what by the Laws of the Land, must withal take away their Lives, and corrupt their Blood; upon which Ground, we do here enter our Dissent from that Vote, and our Protestation against it.

Buckingham,  
Bridgewater,  
Winchester,  
Salisbury,  
Bedford,  
Dorset,  
Alesbury,  
Bristol,  
Denbigh, &  
Pagitt,  
Hollis,  
Peter,

Howard, E. of Berks.  
Mohun,  
Stamford,  
Hallifax,  
De la Mer,  
Eure,  
Shaftsbury,  
Clarendon,  
Grey Roll,  
Say and Seal,  
Wharton.

Not-



Notwithstanding this, the Great Officers and Bishops call'd out for the Question of referring the Bill to a Committee, which the Country Party oppos'd, in a Debate that lasted Five Days; and then it was Committed. Against which, the following Protestation was Entred.

**T**HE Question being put, whether the Bill (Entitled An Act to prevent the Dangers which may arise from Persons disaffected to the Government) should be Committed, it being carried in the Affirmative; and tho' after several Days Debate, we are in no measure satisfy'd, but still apprehending that this Bill doth not only subvert the Privilege and Birth-Right of the Peers, by imposing an Oath upon them, with the Penalty of losing their Places in Parliament; but also, as we humbly conceive, strike at the very Root of Government; it being necessary to all Governments, to have Freedom of Votes and Debates, in those who have Power to alter and make Laws; and beside, the express Words of this Bill, obliging every Man to abjure all Endeavours to alter the Government in the Church, without regard to any thing that Rules of Prudence in the Government, or Christian Compassion to Protestant Dissenters, or the Necessity of Affairs at any time shall, or may require; Upon these Considerations, we humbly think it to be of Dangerous Consequence, to have any Bill of this Nature, so much as Committed; and do Enter our Dissent from that Vote, and Protestation against it.

Buck-

|                  |             |
|------------------|-------------|
| Buckingham,      | Clarendon,  |
| Winton,          | Stamford,   |
| Salisbury,       | Shaftsbury, |
| Denbigh,         | Wharton,    |
| Bristol,         | Mohun,      |
| Howard of Berks, | Dela Mer.   |

The Court Lords, and the Bishops, fell furiously on the Protestators, endeavouring not only severe Proceedings against their Persons, but to have taken away the Liberty of *Protesting with Reasons*; which Denzil, Lord Hollis, defended with so great Ability and Learning, that all the opposite Party could get by a Debate of several Hours, was a Vote, *That the Reasons given in the said Protestation, did reflect upon the Honour of the House, and were of Dangerous Consequence.* There happen'd something in this Debate, so very much to the Honour of my Lord Hollis, that I cannot pass it by; for when it was at the Height, and the Protesting Lords in danger of the Tower, he beg'd Leave of the House, to put his Name to that Protest, and take his Fortune with those Lords, because his Sickness had forc'd him out of the House the Day before, and not being at the *Question*, he could not by the Rules of the House, Sign it. We see what Affection the Promoters of this Test had to their own and their Fellow-Subjects Liberties. What Spirit the Sticklers for the Divine, Indefeazible, and unalienable Right of Princes, have always been animated by; how naturally such

Doctrines

Doctrines lead Men to every thing that is Slavish and Arbitrary: And had not the Fate of King *James* made it a Jest, for Churchmen to Preach as they do, the same Sanction would have been still fix'd on them. The Country Lords, for so my Historian distinguishes the Parties, resenting the Votes past against their Protestation, Entred another in these Words.

**W**HEREAS it is the undoubted Privilege of each Peer in Parliament, when a Question is past contrary to his Vote and Judgement, to enter his Protestation against it; and that in Pursuance thereof, the Bill (Entitled An Act to prevent the Dangers which may arise from Persons disaffected to the Government) being conceiv'd by some Lords, to be of so Dangerous a Nature, as that it was not fit to receive the Countenance of a Commitment; those Lords did Protest against the Commitment of the said Bill, and the House having taken Exception at some Expressions in their Protestation, those Lords who were present at the Debate, did all of them severally and voluntarily declare, That they had no Intention to reflect upon any Member, much less upon the whole House; which is humbly conceived, was more than in Strictness did consist with that Absolute Freedom of Protesting, which is inseparable from every Member of this House; and was done by them meerly out of their great Respect to the House, and their earnest Desire to give all Satisfaction concerning themselves, and the Clearness of their Intentions: Yet the House not satisfied with this their Declaration, but



*The Secret History*

but proceeding to a *Vote*, That the *Reasons* given in the said *Protestation*, do reflect upon the Honour of the House, and are of Dangerous Consequence; We whose Names are under written, conceiving our selves, and the whole House of Peers, extremely concerned, that this great Wound sh<sup>ould</sup> be given (as we humbly apprehend, to so Essential a Privilege of the whole Peerage of this Realm, as that of *Protesting*, do now according to our unquestionable Right) make use of the same Liberty to Enter this our Dissent from, and *Protestation* against the said *Vote*,

Bucks,  
Winton,  
Bedford,  
Dorset,  
Salisbury,  
Bridgwater,  
Denbigh,  
Berks,  
Clarendon,  
Alesbury,  
Shaftsbury,

Say and Seal,  
Hallifax,  
Audley,  
Fitzwater,  
Eure,  
Wharton,  
Mohun,  
Hollis,  
De la Mer,  
Grey Roll.

As little as this Piece of History has relation to our present Times, when only the Bigotry or Interest of some Clergymen, has made those Tenets as are contain'd in this Test, a Part of our Faith, and that on Penalty of Damnation, yet it is with Pleasure we read of so many great Names vigorously withstanding a Bill of such Tendency, in a Free Nation. And it must give one a Horror of those mad Proceedings in the Days of Anarchy, when  
an

an Assembly full of so many Illustrious Patriots as the House of Peers, was Voted *Useless and Dangerous*. The Use and Safety of them, have Eminently appear'd in later Times, and there is not a good *English* Man, that does not reflect with the deepest Sense, on the Noble Stand they have made, when more than once, the Designs of ill Men had taken Effect without it. It cannot be pretended, that these Lords were Schismatics and Fanatics. Were the Lords, *Dorset, Berks, Clarendon, Aylesbury, Halifax, Bristol, &c.* charg'd with Schismatical or Antimonarchial Principles? Did not they carry the Prerogatives of the Church and Crown, as high as the Highest, and only refus'd to Sacrifice their Understandings and their Birthrights, to the advancing of them? Yet all who dare deny any Article of this *State Creed*, are now branded as Hereticks and Rebels, tho' I verily believe Her Majesty has not in her Dominions, more Loyal, and more Affectionate Subjects, than those who would as boldly Protest against such Opinions, as the Lords did against the Bill that asserted them. There seems indeed to be more Complement to the Crown, in an Unlimited Obedience, but that Complement is paid by such as attack it most in Essentials, and would deprive it of its *Ecclesiastical Supremacy*; which shews us for what Reason it is, that an Absolute Dominion is so furiously Preach'd up; and that 'tis not to center only in the Prince, but to be divided by the Priesthood. If  
the

the Power of the Crown is allow'd to be boundless, the Church is at the same time declar'd to be Independant; and the Obedience of these Men, consequently of no more Extent than they think fit, they being themselves their own Judges; and, as they pretend, the State having no right to bring them to an Account. By this it is evident, however specious their Pretences to Loyalty are, the Crown will always be safest in the Legal and Willing Obedience of its Subjects; and that its True Interest is never meant by those that would extend its Empire beyond Reason. I cannot think this Digression irregular, since it was for the sake of such Reflections, that I lookt so far back into our History, as this Test, which has certainly as many Favourers now, as when it was first set on Foot. And all the Arguments us'd to justify the *Unconditional*, Unlimited Obedience now so much in Vogue, only to affront the Revolution, on which the present Government is Founded, are the same made use of to procure this Oath of Abhorrence; and consequently the Reasons against it, will be the best Defence of those Principles which brought about the Revolution, the Basis of our Establishments both in Church and State. I shall therefore repeat as many of the Arguments against this Test, as are to my Purpose, and will serve for the best Answer to all the Libellous Sermons and Pamphlets that have impos'd on the Publick.

The Lords against the Bill, after it was  
Com-



Committed to a Committee of the whole House, obtain'd Two Previous Votes, one That no Oath should be impos'd by any Bill, or otherwise, upon the Peers, with a Penalty, in case of refusal, to lose their Places or Votes in Parliament, or Liberty to Debate therein. The other, That there should be nothing in this Bill, which should extend to deprive either of the Houses of Parliament, or any of their Members, of their just and Antient Freedom and Privilege, of Debating any Matter or Business which shall be propos'd or debated in either of the said Houses, or at any Conference or Committee of both, or either of the said Houses of Parliament, or touching the Repeal or Alteration of any Old, or preparing any New Laws, or the redressing any Publick Grievance, but that the said Members of either of the said Houses, and the Assistants of the House of Peers, and every of them, shall have the said Freedom of Speech, and all other Privileges whatsoever, they had before the making of this Act. However, upon the Report from the Committee, a Vote pass'd, That all Persons who have, or shall have Right to Sit and Vote in either House of Parliament, should have the Oath impos'd upon them. Against which, Protested the following Lords.

|             |            |
|-------------|------------|
| Bucks,      | Denbigh,   |
| Bedford,    | Dorset,    |
| Winton,     | Shaftbury, |
| Salisbury,  | Wharton,   |
| Berks       | Eure,      |
| Bridgwater, | De la Mer, |
| Stamford,   | Paget,     |
| Clarendon,  | Mohun,     |

And

And their Reason for it, proves how much more favour was shewn to *Papists* than others; because, say the Lords, *It had been offer'd, and insisted upon, that the Proviso in the late Act, Entituled, An Act for preventing Dangers that may happen from Popish Reculants, might be added to the Bill depending, whereby the Peerage of every Peer of this Realm, might be preserv'd in this Bill, as fully as in the said late Act. Which was not admitted.*

It was observ'd by the Earl of *Bullingbroke*, a Man of great Abilities, and Learning in the Laws, that tho' there was a *Proviso*, to preserve the Freedom of Debates and Votes in Parliament, yet the Oath remain'd notwithstanding that *Proviso*, upon all Men that shall take it, as a Prohibition, either by Speech, Writing, or address to endeavour any Alteration in Religion, Church or State; even upon the Members of both Houses, otherwise than as they speak and Vote in open Parliaments or Committees. This was seconded by my Lord *De La Mer*, and the Lord *Shaftsbury* presently drew up some Words for preserving the same Rights, Privileges and Freedoms, which Men then enjoy'd by the Law. It was now that the Court-Lords and Bishops, shew'd with the greatest Plainness, what they aim'd at; insomuch that the Duke of *Lauderdale*, tho' under the Load of Two Addresses, told the Committee, as did also the Lord Keeper and Lord Treasurer, *They intended to prevent Caballing against the Government. That none should presume to converse about*

about State-Affairs but themselves, out of the Two Houses of Parliament, which would have reduc'd us in *England*, to the Terms of *French*, or *Turkish* Slavery, or perhaps worse. And when they could not answer what was forcibly urg'd against them, 'tis said they turn'd it off with foolish jests, and awkward Raillery, and at last had recourse to the Question.

To prevent any more Protestations, the House for the future, reported not the Votes of the Committee, and Parts of the Bill as they pass'd them, but took the same Order as is observ'd in other Bills, not to report to the House till they had gone thro' with it, and to report all the Amendments together. The Bill being read over by the Committee, the Lord *Hallifax* spoke admirably against Oaths of any kind. *That as there really was no Security to any State by Oaths, so also no Private Person, much less Statesmen, would ever order his Affairs as relying on it; no Man would ever Sleep with open Doors, or unlockt up Treasure, should all the Towns be Sworn not to Rob: So that the use of multiplying Oaths, had been most commonly to exclude, or disturb some Honest Conscientious Men, who would never have prejudiced the Government.* He insist'd, *That the Oath impos'd by the Bill, contained Three Clauses; The Two former Affertory, and the last Promisary; and that it was worthy the Consideration of the Bishops, whether Affertory Oaths, which were properly appointed, to give Testimony of a Matter of Fact, of which a Man is capable to be fully assur'd by the Evidence of his Sense, be law-*  
N *fully*



fully to be made use of, to confirm or invalidate Doctrinal Propositions; and whether that Legislative Power, which imposes such an Oath, doth not necessarily assume to it self an Infallibility? And as for Promisary Oaths, it was desir'd that those Learned Prelates would consider the Opinion of Grotius, De Jure Belli & Pacis, who seems to make it plain, that those kind of Oaths are forbidden by our Saviour, and whether it would not become the Fathers of our Church, when they have well weighed the Place he Quotes out of the New Testament, to be more tender in multiplying Oaths, than hitherto the Great Men of the Church have been? But whatever this Lord, and others could say to the contrary, the Bs. says my Author, carry'd the Point, and an Oath was order'd by the Major Vote.

The next part of the Debate, was about Members of Parliament, &c. and the Previous Votes were urg'd in their behalf. But the Lord Keeper, who mov'd to have them incerted, said with equal Assurance and Eloquence, The House was Master of their own Orders, and the Interpretation of them.

When these Words, I *A. B.* Do declare that it is not Lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King, came to be consider'd, the Lords against the Bill, urg'd, that it might introduce a great Change of the Government, to oblige all the Men in great Trust in England, to declare that exact Boundary, and Extent of the Oath of Allegiance, and enforce some things to be stated, that are much better in-

involv'd in Generals. There is a Law of 25 Edward III. That Arms shall not be taken up against the King, and that it is Treason to do so, and it is a very just and reasonable Law. But it is an Idle Question at best, to ask whether Arms in any Case, can be taken up against a Lawful Prince, because it necessarily brings in the Debate in every Man's Mind, how there can be a Distinction then left, between Absolute and Bounded Monarchies, if Monarchs have only the Fear of God, and no Fear of *Humane Resistance* to restrain them. The Arguments are of that length, that I can only give the Reader a Hint of them. The Strength of them were such, that the Court, and the Court-Lords, took Care to have them burnt as soon as made Publick. We have been lately told, that the Word *Resistance* was never heard of till within these very few Years, except in the Days of Rebellion and Anarchy. This has been said in the Pulpit, and in a Presence, which, if the Preacher had not the Fear of God before him, one would think a nearer Terror might have touch'd him, and made him not dare to assert such a flagrant Falsity in such an Auditory. Can any thing be more Positive than this Evidence, let the World determine; and of that Cause also, which wants such Wicked Supports.

The next thing in Debate, was that part of the Test, from whence it took the Name of the Oath of *Abhorrency*, And, *That I do abhor that Treacherous Position of taking Arms*

by his Authority, against his Person. To which it was objected, that the Position as here laid down, is Universal; and yet in most Cases, it is not to be *abhorred* by Honest or Wise Men. For there is but one Case, and that never like to happen again, where this Position is like to be *Traiterous*, and that is the Case of the Long Parliament, made perpetual by the King's own Act, by which the Government was perfectly alter'd, and made inconsistent with it self. Then Instances were given, wherein this Position was so far from being *Traiterous*, that it was both Necessary and a Duty. As in the Two Cases of *Henry VI. of England*, and *Charles VI. of France*, who were in the Hands of their Enemies, and not to have taken Arms against those that had assum'd their Authority, and had their Persons for their Warrant, would certainly have been a Breach of their Allegiance. In these and the like Cases, it was not justify'd, but that the strict Letter of the Law might be otherwise Construed; and the Old Bishop of *Winchester* said, *That to take up Arms in such Cases, is not against, but for the Person of the King.* In which his Lordship did not seem to be entirely of the same Mind with the Lord Keeper; for to testifie his own *Abhorrency*, he had this Expression in a Speech of his, *Away with that ill meant Distinction, between Natural and Politique Capacities.* To which Mr. *Marvel* thus replies, "He is too well read, to be Ignorant, that without that Distinction, there would be no Law, nor Reason of Law



“ Law left in *England*, to which End it  
 “ was; and to put all out of Doubt, that  
 “ this Test requires to declare Men’s  
 “ *Abhorrence*, as of a *Traiterous Position*, to  
 “ take Arms against those that are Com-  
 “ mission’d by him, in pursuance of such  
 “ Commission. And yet neither the Te-  
 “ nor or Rule of any such Commission  
 “ specified, nor the Qualification of those  
 “ that shall be Arm’d with such Commis-  
 “ sions, exprest or limited. Never was  
 “ so much Sense contain’d in so few Words.  
 “ No Conveyancer could in more Com-  
 “ pendious or binding Terms, have drawn  
 “ a *Dissettlement* of the whole Birthright of  
 “ *England*.” This naturally brings me  
 to the Third Part of the Test, *Or against*  
*those that are Commissionated by him*. It was  
 observ’d upon this, that if any King here-  
 after, should contrary to the *Petition of*  
*Right*, Demand, or Levy Mony by Privy  
 Seal or otherwise, and cause Soldiers to  
 enter and distress for such illegal Taxes;  
 in such a Case, any Man might defend his  
 House against them, and yet this is against  
 the Words of the Declaration, made in  
 this Test. The Lord Keeper said these  
 were *Remote Instances*: To whom the Earl  
 of *Salisbury* excellently reply’d, *That they*  
*would not hereafter prove so, when this Decla-*  
*ration had made the Practice of them justifiable.*  
*Here the Mask was plainly pluckt off*, as the  
 Author from whom I have taken a good  
 part of these Arguments, says; and Arbi-  
 trary Government appear’d barefac’d, a  
 Standing Army to be Established by Act

of Parliament; for it was said by several of the Lords, *That if whatever is by the Kings Commission, be not oppos'd by the King's Authority, then a Standing Army is Law, whenever the King pleases*; and yet the King's Commission was never thought sufficient to Protect, or Justify any Man, where it is against his Authority, which is the Law. This allow'd, alters the whole Law of *England*, in the most Essential and Fundamental Parts of it, and makes the whole Law of Property become Arbitrary, and without Effect, whenever the King pleases. It is to be wish'd, that all good *English-Men* would seriously consider who were the Men, and what their Principles, that would have reduc'd us to the Condition of the *Swedes* and *Danes*, to have depended on the *Will of the Prince*; for then they would not now hearken as they do, to the same Sort of Men, and countenance the same Opinions, which would with this Test have made the Monarchy of *England* Arbitrary and Absolute. Indeed, the best Bulwark we have now against it, is the Disposition of our Sovereign, whose Royal Pleasure Centers in the Law, and whom, not the Perswasions nor Flatteries of ill Men can ever tempt to Invade it. One cannot have a better Notion of the Fatal Consequences that must have attended this Test, if it had prevail'd, than in what *Andrew Marvel* writes of it. *For as to the Commission, if it be to take away any Man's Estate, or his Life by Force, yet it is the King's Commission. Or, if the Person Commissionate, be under never so many*

many Disabilities by Acts of Parliament, yet his taking this Oath, removes all those Incapacities, or his Commission makes it not disputable. But if a Man stand upon his Defence, a good Judge for the Purpose, finding that the Position is Traiterous, will declare that by this Law, he is to be Executed for Treason. As strong as the Court Party was in the House, such was the Power of Truth, they could not carry this abominable Declaration, without adding, *Against those that are Commissioned by him according to Law, in Time of Rebellion and War.*

We come now to what will fully evidence the Designs of the Clergy, in these and other Times, by such unwarrantable Complacency to the Court. The Church Government must not on any Account be alter'd, no more than the State. *I do Swear that I will not at any Time, endeavour the Alteration of the Government, in Church or State.* Against which, the Objection lay most plain and strong, at the first Entrance of the Oath. That there was no Care taken of the Doctrine, but only the Discipline of the Church. The *Papists* need not scruple the taking this Oath, for Episcopacy remains in its full Lustre, tho' the Popish Religion was introduc'd. But the *King's Supremacy* is justled aside by this Oath, and makes better room for an Ecclesiastical One; insomuch that the Party were forc'd immediately to have it thus Worded, *I will not endeavour to alter the Protestant Religion, or the Government, either of Church or State.* And they valu'd themselves so



much on their Condescension in this Matter, that they now call'd their Test, *A Security for the Protestant Religion*. The Author I am so much indebted to, expresses himself on this Occasion, " But the Country Lords " wonder'd at their Confidence in this, " since they had never thought of it before, and had been by pure shame, compell'd to this Addition. For it was not unknown to them, that some of the Bishops themselves had told some Roman Catholick Lords of the House, That Care had been taken, that it might be such an Oath, as might not bear upon them. There was a great Struggle against the Words, Endeavour to alter.

The Earl of Shaftsbury said, *It is a far different thing to believe, or to be fully persuaded of the Truth of the Doctrine of our Church, and to Swear never to Endeavour to alter, which last must be utterly unlawful, unless you place an Infallibility either in the Church, or your self, you being otherwise oblig'd to alter, whenever a clearer or better Light comes to you. And he desir'd leave to ask, Where are the Boundaries, or where shall we find how much is meant by the Protestant Religion?*

I must now make use of the Words of my Author, and he tells us in Answer to this, " The Lord Keeper thinking he had got an " Advantage, desires it might not be told in " Gath, nor Publish'd in the Streets of Ascalon, That a Lord of so great Parts and Eminence, and professing himself for the Church of England, should not know what is meant by the Protestant Religion. This was second " ded

ded with great Pleasantness, by divers of the Lords the Bishops, but the Bishop of Winchester, and some others of them, were pleas'd to condescend to Instruct that Lord, That the Protestant Religion was comprehended in the Thirty Nine Articles, The Liturgy, The Catechism, The Homilies, and The Canons. Thus were all the Protestant Churches of Europe, charg'd at once with Popery and Schism, unless they Subscrib'd to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England. But I shall not trouble the Reader with my Reflections on this Head, since we have much better in the same Memoirs.

To this the Earl of Shaftsbury reply'd, That he beg'd so much Charity of them, to believe that he knew the Protestant Religion so well, and was so confirm'd in it, that he hop'd he should Burn for the Witness of it, if Providence should call him to it. But he might perhaps think some things not Necessary, which they accounted Essential. Nay, he might think some Things not true, or agreeable to Scripture, which they might call Doctrines of the Church. Besides, when he was to Swear never to Endeavour to alter, it was certainly necessary to know how far the Extent of this Oath was; but since they had told him that the Protestant Religion was in those Five Tracts, he had still Power to ask whether they meant those whole Tracts were the Protestant Religion, or only that the Protestant Religion was contain'd in all these, but that every Part of these was not the Protestant Religion? If they meant the former of these, then he was extreamly in the dark, to find the  
Doctrines

Doctrine of Predestination in the XVIIIth and XVIIth Articles, to be own'd by so few, great Doctors of the Church, and to find the XIXth Article to define the Church, directly as the Independants do. Besides, the XXth Article, Stating the Authority of the Church, is very dark; and either contradicts it self, or says nothing, or what is contrary to the known Laws of the Land. Further, Several other things in the XXXIX Articles, have been Preach'd and Writ against, by Men of great Favour, Power and Preferment in the Church. He humbly conceiv'd the Liturgy was not so Sacred, being made by Man the other Day, and thought to be more differing from the Dissenting Protestants, and less easie to be complied with; upon the advantage of a Pretence well known to us all, of making Alterations as might the better Unite us: Instead of which, there's scarce one Alteration but widens the Breach, and no Ordination allowed by it here, (as it now stands last Reformed in the Act of Uniformity) but what is Episcopal; so that a Popish Priest is capable when converted, of any Church Preferment, without Re-Ordination; but no Protestant Minister, not Episcopally Ordain'd, but is requir'd to be Re-ordain'd; as much as in us lies, Unchurching all the Foreign Protestants that have not Bishops, tho' the contrary was both allow'd and practis'd, from the beginning of the Reformation, to the time of that Act; and several Bishops made of such, as were never Ordain'd Priests by Bishops; and he thought to Endeavour to alter, and Restore the Liturgy, to what it was in Queen Elizabeth's Days, might consist with his



his being a very good Protestant. *As to the Ca echism, he really thought it might be mended, and durst declare to them, it was not well, that there was not a better made. For the Homilies he believ'd there might be a better Book made; and Hom. III. Of Repairing and keeping Clean of Churches, might be omitted. What is yet stranger than all this, the Canons of our Church, are directly the Old Popish Canons, which are still in Force, and no other; as will appear, if you turn to the Stat. 25 Hen. cap. 10. confirm'd and receiv'd by 1 Eliz. where all those Canons are Establish'd, till an Alteration should be made by the King, in pursuance of that Act, which was attempted by Edward VI. but not perfected, and let alone ever since; for what Reason, the Lords the Bishops, could best tell; and it was very hard, to be oblig'd by Oath, Not to endeavour to alter, either the English Common-Prayer Book, or the Canon of the Mass. The Reasons of this Lord, and others that spoke to the same thing, were so Cogent, that the House seem'd convinc'd of the Necessity of an Expedient.*

The Lord *Wharton* offer'd as a Cure to the whole Oath, and what might make it pass in all the Three Parts of it, to add these Words at the latter end, *As the same is, or shall be Established by Act of Parliament.* But to use the before mentioned Authors own Expression, *This was not endur'd at all.* The Lord *Grey of Rolstone*, offer'd another Expedient, which was the Addition of these Words, by *Force or Fraud*, and then it would have run thus, *I do Swear not to endeavour*

*endeavour by Force or Fraud, to alter.* This was also a Cure that would have pass'd the whole Oath, and seem'd as if it would have carried the whole House, the Duke of York, and Bishop of Rochester, both seconding it; but the Lord Treasurer, according to the Memoirs I have made use of, who had privately before consented to it, speaking against it, gave the Word and Sign to that Party; and it being put to the Question, the Major Vote answer'd all Arguments. And they were so flusht by their Majority, that without considering the remainder of the Test, they would have then put it to the Question entire, which was oppos'd by the Lord Mohun, and after by so great a Disorder in the House, as ever was seen there; proceeding "*says my Author, from the* Rage those unreasonable Practices had caus'd in the Country Lords. They standing up in a Body, and crying out "*Adjourn, with so loud a continu'd Voice,* that when Silence was obtain'd, Fear did what Reason could not do, and put off the Question for the whole Test. Now comes the Consideration of the latter Part of the Oath, *Nor the Government in Church or State.* And what a Correspondence there is between those of the Priesthood, that have of late asserted their *Independency*, and on all Occasions prefer'd their Interests to that of the Crown, and the Bishops who were so Zealous for this Bill, will appear by the Marshalling the *Church and State*, in this Test, wherein the Church came first to be consider'd. The Lords against

gainst the Bill Objected, That it was not agreeable to the King's Crown and Dignity, to have his Subjects Sworn to the Government of the Church, equally as to himself; That it ought to be well understood, before such an Act pass, What the Government of the Church was, and what the Boundaries, whether it derives no Power nor Authority, nor the Exercise of any Power, Authority or Function, but from the King as Head of the Church, and from G O D, as through him all his other Officers do; otherwise there would be *Imperium in Imperio*, and Two distinct Supream Powers, inconsistent with each other in the same Place, and ever the same Persons. The Memoirs tell us, " The Bishops all'dg'd, that the " Priesthood, their Power and Authorities, " were deriv'd immediately from God, " but that the Licence of Exercising that " Authority and Power in any Country, " is deriv'd from the Civil Magistrate. " To which it was reply'd, That it was a " Dangerous thing to secure by Oath an Act " of Parliament, those in the Exercise of an " Authority and Power in the King's Country, " and over his Subjects; which being receiv'd " from Christ himself, cannot be alter'd or li- " mited by the King's Law; and that this " was directly to set the Mitre above the " Crown. It was further offer'd, that this " Oath was the greatest Attempt that " had been made against the King's Supre- " macy, since the Reformation. For the " King in Parliament, may alter, dimi- " nish, enlarge, or take away any Bisho- " prick.



“ prick. He may take any Part of a Dio-  
 “ cefs, or a whole Diocess, and put them  
 “ under Deans, or other Persons; for if  
 “ this be not Lawful, but that *Episcopacy*  
 “ should be *Jure Divino*, the maintaining  
 “ the Government as it is now, is unlaw-  
 “ ful; so that at best, that Government  
 “ wants Alteration, that is so imperfectly  
 “ settled.

What the Bishop of *Winchester* asserted of the Antiquity of *Episcopacy*, and the Answer to it, I shall not repeat; it being a very ungrateful Task, to enter into a Debate, which reflects the least on that Order, for which all good Subjects have so high a Veneration, and to which the *British* Constitution has been so much indebted since the Revolution. The Glory the Reverend Fathers of our Church, have so justly acquir'd by their Zeal in the Cause of Religion and Liberty, makes it invidious to look back into the Actions of those, who for Worldly Ends had too little Concern for both; and what I shall quote out of the Papers before me, is not at all intended to bear hard on any; but the Memory of those, who by their Complacency to the Times, had lost the Esteem due to their Character. For which no Man can have a greater Respect than my self; for no Church was happier in her Spiritual Rulers, than is now the *Church of England*.

The Lord *Wharton*, upon the *Bishops* Claim to a Divine Right, ask'd, as the Author calls it, *a very hard Question*, Whether

ther they then did not Claim also, *A Power of Excommunicating their Prince?* The Prelates being press'd for an Answer, said *They never had done it.* And the Lord Halifax reply'd, *That that might well be, for since the Reformation, they had hitherto had too great a Dependence on the Crown, to venture on that, or any other Offence to it.*

As to the other Clause about the State, it was objected, it would overthrow all Parliaments, and left them capable of nothing but giving Money. For what is the Business of Parliaments, but the Alteration, either by adding, or taking away some Part of the Government, either in Church or State? And every New Act of Parliament is an Alteration: And what kind of Government in Church or State, must that be, which I must Swear upon no Alteration of Time, Emergency of Affairs, and Variation of Humane Things, *Never to endeavour to alter?* Would it not be requisite, that such a Government should be given by God himself, and that with all the Ceremony of Thunder, Lightning, and visible Appearance to the whole People, as the Law was given to the *Jews*. ———

I was satisfy'd upon reading these, and other Arguments of the same Nature, that they would have more Authority than the Interested or Venal Arguments of the Modern Press or Pulpit; and the Place they were spoken in, the Persons they were address'd to, adds a Sanction to them, which it would be great Assurance in any one to question; it being a Struggle of the Peers of  
*England,*

England, for that Freedom which we were forc'd a few Years after, to use very extraordinary Methods to recover. The Lord *Stafford* himself, whose Fate afterwards is so well known, as great a Bigot as he was to Popery, tho' he had till now been for the Bills, yet such was the Strength of the Reasons against it, with respect to this Part of the Test, that he freely declar'd, *There ought to be an Addition to the Oath, for preserving the Freedom of Debates in Parliament,* which was also strongly supported by the Earls of *Bridgewater, Denbigh, Clarendon* and *Alesbury*; and the opposite Party was in the end oblig'd to agree, that the Oath should run thus.

**I** A. B. do Swear, that I will not endeavour to alter the Protestant Religion, now by Law Establish'd, in the Church of England, nor the Government of the Kingdom in Church or State, as it is now by Law Establish'd, &c.

And a *Proviso* for Freedom of Debates in Parliament was mention'd, which breaking the main Design of the Bill, from thence forward it was manag'd with less Warmth by the Favourers of it. The Marquis of *Winchester*, before the finishing of the Oath, tender'd an Additional one, which would have been very serviceable to the Publick, if it could have been past.



**I** Do Swear that I will never by Threats, Injunctions, Promises, Advantages, or Invitation by, or from any Person whatsoever, nor from the Hopes or Prospect of any Gift, Place, Office, or Benefit whatsoever, give my Vote, other than according to my Opinion and Conscience, as I shall be truly and really persuaded, upon the Debate of any Business in Parliament.

So help me G O D.

For this was intended only to be taken by the Members of both Houses.

To this the Lord Keeper seem'd very averse, and declar'd in a fine Speech, It was an useless Oath, for all Gifts, Places and Offices, were likeliest to come from the King, and no Member of Parliament in either House, could do too much for the King, or be too much of his side; and that Men might lawfully and worthily have in their Prospect, such Offices or Benefits from him. When this was Doctrine taught in so August an Assembly, is it not wonderful that we have so long preserv'd our Liberties; but there was a Noble Band of Peers that stood in the Breach, and defended their Birth-rights with equal Courage and Reason. These reply'd, That Men had been, might, and were likely to be in either House, too much for the King as they call'd it, and that whoever endeavour'd to give more Power to the King, than the Law and Constitution of the Government had given, especially if it tended to the introducing an Absolute and Arbitrary

trary Government, might justly be said to do too much for the King, and to be corrupted in his Judgment, by the Prospect of Advantages and Rewards; tho' when it is consider'd, that every Deviation of the Crown, towards Absolute Power, lessens the King in the Love and Affection of his People, making him become less their Interest; a Wise Prince will not think it a Service done him. Which modest and just Reasoning, shews what little need Truth has of any Authority but its own to support it; and how vain the contrary will prove in the End, tho' back'd by Power, which may humble, but will never convince. The remaining Part of the Debate, related to Lords and Commons. As to the former, it was said they were subjected by this Test, "to the meanest Condition of Mankind, "if they could not enjoy their Birth-rights, "without playing Tricks suitable to the "Humour of every Age, and be forc'd to "Swear to every Frenzy of the present "Times. Three Years ago, 'twas *All "Liberty and Indulgence, and now 'tis strict and "rigid Conformity*, and what it may be in some short Time hereafter, without the Spirit of Prophecy, might be shroudly guess'd by a considering Man." To which the Court Lords had nothing to say, and it appear'd now, that they were resolv'd to give up the Field of Argument, and rely on the Major Vote. The Duke of Buckingham to put off the Question, made a Speech late at Night, of *Eloquent and Well-plac'd Nonsense*, shewing admirably how well he could do either in that or Sense, which

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he had before try'd often in vain. But the Earl of W. — perceiving what he would be at, demanded the Question; and in my Author's Phrase, *The Major Vote, Ultima ratio Senatus & Conciliorum*, carry'd it as the Court and Clergy would have it.

The Debate lasted seventeen whole days, The House during that time, sat often till Midnight, but the Opposition this Bill met with, and a Dispute about Privilege arising between the Two Houses, were the Occasion that the Lords who were for the Bill, took so little Care of it afterwards, that 'twas never reported from the Committee to the House.

Never was there shewn since the Restauration, such a Spirit of Liberty, as in the Opposition to this Bill, which would forever have put an end to any in England. Nor has the Debate a little Resemblance with the Vigour that was lately exerted in the same Cause, on the Trial of the Incendiary. The Temper of the Clergy was the same then, as some hot Men of 'em have since shewn in the same Controversy, with this difference only, that there was more Folly in the latter, the Court being against 'em, and more Corruption in the former, the Ministry being making a bold Effort to attack our Constitution, which must have ended in its Subversion.

What is most In-glorious to the Lords, who call'd themselves Protestants, and yet gave this Countenance to Despotic Power, is, that the very *Roman Catholics* joyn'd Heartily with the other Lords, that



that so resolutely vindicated their own and the People's Liberties. Besides, the Lord *Stafford* before mention'd, the Lord *Petre* was warm against this Bill, and spoke often, as did the Lord *Audley*; and both are to be found among the Protesting Lords, which occasion'd this very just Observation of my Author. But thus much I shall say of the Roman Catholick Peers, that if they were safe in their Estates, and yet kept out of Office, their Votes in that House would not be the most unsafe to England of any sort of Men in it. And if we look into our History before the Reign of *Henry VIII.* we shall not find the Clergy in such Slavish Dispositions, as the worst of 'em, tho' not the least, have since discover'd; not out of Conviction I suppose, but to complement the Power that prefers them. I cannot close this matter, without observing the Zeal of some Lords in it, as indeed there was Reason, their All being at Stake. Among the most Zealous, we find the Earls of *Bedford*, *Devonshire*, *Burlington*, the Earl of *Stamford*, the Lord *Say and Seal*, and the Lord *Pagett*. The Lord Viscount *Heresford*, and the Lord Viscount *Townsend*, distinguish'd themselves on this Occasion. The Earl of *Carnarvan* came out of the Country on purpose to give his Vote against this Bill; and the Earl of *Bedford*, *Rutland*, the Lord *Sandys*, the Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, the Lord *North*, and the Lord *Crew*, sent their Proxies. But to deliver all their Names to Posterity in Records, worthy their Merit, must be the Business of

of some Immortal Pen; to which I shall be Proud to be assisting, by handing them to it, as far as they have come to my Knowledge; for those that follow were not all, but their Weight and Number become so important a Cause.


|                                |                           |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>The D. of Buckingham,</i>   | <i>The Lord Viscount</i>  |
| <i>Marq. of Winchester,</i>    | <i>Townsend.</i>          |
| <i>The Earl of Rutland,</i>    | <i>The Lord Viscount</i>  |
| <i>The Earl of Bedford,</i>    | <i>Stafford.</i>          |
| <i>The Earl of Dorset,</i>     | <i>The Lord Viscount</i>  |
| <i>The Earl of Salisbury,</i>  | <i>Hallifax.</i>          |
| <i>The E. of Bridgwater,</i>   | <i>The Lord Audley,</i>   |
| <i>The E. of Devonshire,</i>   | <i>The Ld. Fitzwater,</i> |
| <i>The E. of Bullingbrook,</i> | <i>The Ld. Wharton,</i>   |
| <i>The Earl of Berks,</i>      | <i>The Lord Eure,</i>     |
| <i>The Earl of Bristol,</i>    | <i>The Lord Pagett,</i>   |
| <i>The Earl of Carnarvan,</i>  | <i>The Lord Mohun,</i>    |
| <i>The Earl of Aylesbury,</i>  | <i>The Lord Sandys,</i>   |
| <i>The Earl of Denbigh,</i>    | <i>The Lord Herbert</i>   |
| <i>The Earl of Stamford,</i>   | <i>of Cherbury.</i>       |
| <i>The E. of Clarendon,</i>    | <i>The Lord Grey of</i>   |
| <i>The E. of Shaftsbury,</i>   | <i>Rolston.</i>           |
| <i>The E. of Burlington,</i>   | <i>The Lord North,</i>    |
| <i>The Lord Viscount Har-</i>  | <i>The Lord Crew,</i>     |
| <i>reford.</i>                 | <i>The Lord Petre,</i>    |
| <i>The Lord Viscount Say</i>   | <i>The Lord Hollis,</i>   |
| <i>and Seal.</i>               | <i>The Lord Dela Mer.</i> |

Tho' this Test was drop'd in this manner, the Motives that brought it upon the Stage continu'd, which were to ruin the Principles that afterwards sav'd us from the Worst of Slaveryes, as was the Phrase two or three

three Years ago. The Treasurer as has been hinted, was one of the Three who gave the Negative to it, *Oxford*, tho' now it seems his Mind was chang'd, and he warmly espous'd it. This, and some other Court Practices, made him lose the Favour of the Commons, and he took so little Care to recover it, that at last the Leading Members agreed *Not to consent to give the King any Money, while the present Lord Treasurer continued.* So high did they carry Matters against his Lordship, that King Charles was satisfy'd their Zeal for the French War, was to leave him in it, and make use of it to ruin his Ministers, as he express himself on that Subject. I can't imagine why Ministers should be always so afraid of War, especially those that have the Money Affairs under their management. Is it because they are afraid of Parliaments, and that when a House of Commons is made necessary to the Crown, the necessity of redressing Grievances presses harder upon them? One thing however I have taken notice of, that the Ministers who have formerly been most for Peace with *France*, have never fail'd to have been always ready to War with *Holland*, which I do not understand: For they could not make War upon the *Dutch* without Money, no more than against the *French*; and the House was never fond of giving Supplies to such dangerous Purposes. The Secret must be, that the *French* King was always willing to furnish Money for that end, and they got more by him, than they could hope



hope to do by the *States*, who depended on the Ties of our Mutual Interests, which are not some times strong enough, to cope with the Engagements of Faction and Corruption.

The Mystery of the Differences between the E. of D — and Mr. *Mountague*, is not likely to be laid fully open in our Histories, and it is still a Secret which will be bury'd with some of those that in King *Charles's* Reign, made the People of *England* so uneasy and unhappy. It must be own'd by all Impartial Men, that the then Lord Treasurer, was no more a Friend to *France* than to the Duke of *York*, who was never a Friend to him. And it is as well known, that the late Duke of *Mountague* was as forward as any Body, in adhering to that Cause, which *France* and her Friends endeavour'd to ruin here, as it had far'd under *Louis XIV.* Yet that both of those Great Men were clear of any unwarrantable Commerce with the *French* Court, to the hazarding our Constitution, and with that our Liberty for ever, is not to be believ'd. The Author of the *Complete History of England*, has given some Account of this Matter, but so little in favour of the Lord D — that he has thought fit to Publish a Volume of Original Letters in his own Vindication, with Remarks, and some Particulars of Fact not mention'd any where else. The Historian says, the Intrigues of the Ministry with the Court of *France*, were another Danger which rais'd the Jealousy of the Commons. This ap-  
O  pear'd

pear'd more especially, by a Message from the King, on December the 19th, 1678. deliver'd to the House of Commons. That his Majesty having received Intimation that his late Ambassador in France, Mr. Mountague a Member of that House, had held several Private Correspondencies with the Pope's Nuntio there, without any Directions or Instructions from his Majesty: His Majesty, to the end he might know the Truth of that Matter had given Orders for the seizing of Mr. Mountague's Papers. I have been inform'd by a very good Hand, that Mr. Mountague having timely Notice of this intended Search of his Papers, and that he was to be charg'd with all the Guilt of the French Business, did use his utmost Endeavours to be chosen a Member of Parliament, and accordingly was chosen at Northampton. To prevent the Blow that was design'd him, he mov'd in the House, that he had something to communicate of the last Importance, and desir'd the Door might be lock'd, which being done, he acquainted them that he had several Papers in his Custody, relating to some Transactions in France, which he was apprehensive would be taken from him, and he desir'd their Protection, and that they might be immediately sent for, which was done. By this means, the Messengers from Court were prevented, and the Papers were produc'd in the House, agreeable to the Account given in the before-mention'd History in these Words.

Upon

Upon which Mr. Mountague, in his own Defence, acquainted the House, "That he  
" had in his Custody several Papers, which he  
" conceiv'd might tend very much to the Safety  
" of his Majesty's Person, and the Kingdom.  
And accordingly a Box of Writings was  
sent for, and opened in the House, and  
Two Letters were produc'd and read in  
the House, Subscribed *Danby*; in the first  
of which, Dated *London, 17 Jan. 1677.* is  
contained as follows, but I take the Con-  
tents from the Letter of his Lordship's  
own Publishing, as being the fairest way of  
proceeding.

" Your Intelligence concerning Mr.  
" *Ruvigny*, has not been the least of your  
" Favours, and hitherto his Sons Steps  
" have been very suitable to your Infor-  
" mation, for yesterday he came to me  
" with Mr. *Barillon*, (having given me his  
" Fathers Letters the Day before) and  
" discoursed much upon the Confidence the King  
" hath of the Firmness of ours to him; of the  
" good Opinion he hath of me; of the King's  
" Resolution to condescend to any thing that is  
" not infamous to him, for the Satisfaction of  
" our King. How certainly our King may de-  
" pend upon all Assurances and Supplies from his  
" Master." This cannot be deny'd to be  
a very unlawful Correspondence with the  
*French Ministers*, and which should not  
have been known by a good *English Man*,  
but it should have been as soon discover'd  
and frustrated. Be it as it will, we must  
go further than all this for the Rise of it,  
and perhaps it will be found that the King  
himself



## The Secret History

himself was entirely the Master of this Affair, both in the Contrivance and the Conduct of it; and that the Guilt of the Treasurer, if any at all, was Passive: For some time before this, Mr. Mountague, (afterwards Duke of Mountague.) by King Charles's Command, told Mr. Ruvigny, then the French Minister in England, That the King thought he had given great Marks of his Sincerity, in breaking in upon the Triple Alliance. Again, That while he had been joyn'd with his Master, he had extremely advanc'd his own Interest, and none of his Majesty's. Monsieur Ruvigny reply'd, After such great Sums his Master had paid in England, it was hard he should be left by a Separate Peace with Holland. To this Mr. Mountague answers, As for the Sums of Money, they were not so great as to regret the Payment; that to his Knowledge, the Crown of France paid to the Crown of Sweden, Two Millions and a half for being Neuter, and that his Majesty, who was so Great and so Powerful a King, had but Three Millions for so vast a Fleet, and 10000 Men suffer'd to pass over into the French Service. This is mention'd not only as a further Proof of the Money from France, but also of the double Dealing of England and Sweden in the Triple League. Mr. Mountague, upon this Conference with the French Ambassador, told my Lord Arlington, that Mr. Ruvigny was so frighted at the mention of taking up the Triple Alliance again, He was sure, if he were well manag'd, the Three Millions the King had during the War, might be continu'd to him. And within a few Days Mr. Ruvigny, coming to Mr. Mountague,

gae, askt him what he should do, for my Lord Treasurer was in the Prince of Orange's Interest; and the Ministers turning against France, Mr. M—— told him, *The best way was, (if his Majesty would accept of it,) to offer the Continuance of the Three Millions during the War, for in this World no Body does any thing for nothing; and the French Ambassador allow'd the Advice he gave was good, and what his Master was oblig'd to him for.* Accordingly he propos'd it to the Court of France, and it was consented to, only with a Recommendation to be as good a Husband of the King's Money as he could, which he Negotiated so well, that he got King Charles to be content with a Pension of 100000 Pounds. Mr. M—— being sent to France, in a second Ambassy, writes thus to King Charles, in a Letter Dated June 21. 1677.

Y OUR Majesty may believe me, if Mr. Ruvigny had not manag'd, in hopes to make his own Fortune by such a Service, you had had Three Hundred Thousand Pistoles a Year, where now you have but One. I trouble You, SIR, with all these Particulars, that you may the better know your own Power and Greatness, and consequently set a greater Value upon it. I am sure the Greatness of the King of France, is supported only by your Majesty's Connivance at what he does, and the Good Will Christianity sees you have for him. Though After-Games are hard to play, I think I understand this Court so well, if you  
care

“ care to have it done. I am confident  
 “ I could get you by Agreement a Mil-  
 “ lion of Livres a Year, to be paid  
 “ whilst the War shall last, and Four  
 “ Millions after the Peace shall be made;  
 “ I mean, Sir, over and above what you  
 “ have from *France* now.

Here was a noble Trafick for a King of  
*Great Britain*. No less than that of his  
 Honour, the Protestant Religion, and Li-  
 berties of *Europe*; for the Paultry Benefit  
 of 2 or 300000 Pounds a Year. The A-  
 gent had doubtless his Instructions from  
 the King, or he durst not have made him  
 so Scandalous a Proposal. The Person that  
 did it in all the other Actions of his Life,  
 was so true a Patriot, that 'tis amazing  
 how he shou'd in this so far forget the  
 Hereditary Zeal of his Noble Family for  
 the Publick Good. He was in this Affair  
 so conscious of the Guilt of it, that he  
 was afraid any body should know it but  
 his Master; for in the same Letter, he says,  
 “ Sir, If you approve of my Proposition, be  
 “ pleased to write me Five or Six Lines with  
 “ your Demands and Directions, and I  
 “ doubt not but to give you a good Account  
 “ of it. Since I do not know which of  
 “ your Ministers you are willing to trust,  
 “ I have taken the boldness to give you  
 “ this Trouble, and if you trust any, I  
 “ had rather it were my Lord Treasurer,  
 “ because I think he is the best Judge of  
 “ such an Affair; and except you shall  
 “ think it for your Service, that he sees  
 “ this



“ this Letter, I humbly beg my Sister may  
“ see it burnt. The Earl of ——— ob-  
serves justly enough in his Remarks on  
this Letter, that tis plain the Money  
Affair was transacting with the Lord *Ar-*  
*lington*, before he knew any thing of it,  
and so much must be own'd ; but how far  
that excuses his giving into it after, I leave  
the Reader to judge. At the same time  
that the *French* Court paid so many Mil-  
lions to *England* and *Sweden*. They paid  
many more to other Princes, and parti-  
cularly to the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Han-*  
*over*. The latter being at that time a Pa-  
pist, and in the Interest of *France*; the  
Duke of *Bavaria* had Three Millions of  
livres a Year. While this business was  
transacting with Monsieur *Pomponne* and  
the *French* Ministers at *Paris*, Monsieur  
*Courtin*, then Ambassâdor from *France* at  
*London*, had brought King *Charles* to ac-  
cept of 2 Millions of Livres; and it ap-  
pears that the E. of D. was in the Secret  
a long while before the above mention'd  
Letter for Monsieur *Pomponne* assur'd Mr.  
*Montague* the King had condescended to it  
*de concert avec le Grand Tresorier*. How-  
ever 200000 Pounds Sterling was insisted  
upon. There was one Reason given why  
it should be so many Pounds and not  
Livres, because King *Charles* had been ab-  
solutely the occasion of the *French* King's Con-  
quests in *Flanders*.

It

It might have been pretended that this Money was wanted as the Treasurer said, for that the King was apprehensive of a breach with Spain, and was afraid he must be at great Charge about the Western Islands. This was said very gravely, and as if we were in mortal dread of another Spanish Armada: However, it was a poor pretence, for after the Peace was to be concluded, Mr. Montague says, in his Letter of the 30th of August; "I am confident I can bring on  
 " my first Proposition of Four Millions  
 " after the Peace" what follows, intimates that the Treasurer was not so averse to the Affair, as is insinuated in those Letters; "I dare flatter my self so much,  
 " as to believe you will approve the steps  
 " I have already made towards effecting  
 " it. The Peace between France and the Allies was actually treating at Nimeguen, by King Charles's Mediation, while we were bargaining for these Millions; Was ever Court more Janus than ours. How can it be expected the Dutch shou'd have a Frontier, or the Spaniards their Towns, when we were unwilling to offend France, for fear of stopping the Money Affair.  
 " I did not think it proper, says our Ambassador to the King, nor for your Service to insist upon the Restoring the  
 " Towns, and to charge my self too with  
 " Propositions of Money. Yet I take the  
 " liberty to put you in mind, Sir, that if  
 " you come not to a Breach with France, you  
 " may certainly accommodate your own Affairs.  
 " And it is not reasonable that they  
 " shou'd

“ shou’d go away with all the Advantage  
 “ of a War, that you have really help’d  
 “ them so much in, and inconvenienc’d  
 “ your self so much by ” something very  
 Courtly, and at the same time very  
 merry follows. That which these Gen-  
 tlemen were transacting for King *Charles*  
 was the giving up the Common Cause  
 abroad, and Invading our Constitution  
 at home by the neglect of Parliaments,  
 which this bad Bargain, prompted him  
 to, yet the Ambassador seriously tells  
 him, “ And I am sure there shall be  
 “ nothing that I shall always Study, nor  
 “ Wish so much, as what may be for  
 “ your Honour and Advantage.

When this Matter was brought before  
 the House, wherein Mr. *M.* prevented  
 the E. of *D.* the latter, desir’d some  
 Letters from the former might be Read  
 in his Justification, which was deny’d  
 him. But it does not consist with the  
 Impartiality of an Historian, to refuse  
 such Justice to a Person accus’d. He  
 ought to divest himself of Party-Prejudice  
 and Passion, which often corrupt the most  
 Publick Judgments ; and I shall therefore  
 mention what is material in them. The  
 First speaks of Mr. *Ruvigny*, the Son’s  
 being sent to *England*, and tells his Errand.  
 “ By the near Relation he has to my  
 “ Lady *Vaughan*, who is his Cousin Ger-  
 “ man, and the particular Friendship  
 “ which his Father and Son have with  
 “ Mr. *William Russell*, he is to be intro-  
 “ duc’d into a great Commerce with the  
 “ Male-



" Male-Contented Members of Parlia-  
 " ment, and insinuate what they shall  
 " think fit to cross your (the E. of D's.)  
 " Measures at Court. The Second is  
 " much more in the E. of D's. Favour.  
 " *Ruvigny's* Chief Errand is to let the  
 " King know, that the King of *France*  
 " did hope he was so firm to him, as not  
 " to be led away by the Grand Treasurer:  
 " He was an Ambitious Man, and to keep  
 " himself with the People, would gratifie  
 " their Inclinations, by leading his Master  
 " into an unreasonable War. That as  
 " for Money, if he wanted that, he  
 " should have what he would from hence.  
 " Again Old *Ruvigny* that values him-  
 " self for knowing *England*, has given it  
 " them for a Maxim, that they must  
 " diminish your Credit before they could  
 " do any good.

'Tis most certain, the E. of D. was  
 then entirely in the Interests of the  
 Prince of *Orange*, and the share he had  
 in the Marriage of the Princess *Mary* to  
 that Prince shews that he was not the  
 best Friend *France* had in *England*. His  
 Highness when he was at *Margate*, in his  
 way with his Bride to *Holland*, wrote to  
 him; " I was desirous that the last thing  
 " I do, before I go may be thanking you  
 " for all the good Offices you have done  
 " me, and intreating that I may always  
 " have the Continuance of them.

Again, from *Honsler Dyck*, " I could  
 " not forbear writing to repeat the offers  
 " of my humble Service, and to assure  
 " you

“ you of the true Sense I have of all the  
 “ Obligations you have laid upon me.  
 There was before this Marriage a very  
 Friendly Correspondence held between  
 the Prince and the Treasurer; and if the  
 latter was at any time for taking *French*  
 Money; at others he was doing that which  
 wou’d have prevented the ill effects of it  
 in the *Netherlands*, as may be seen by  
 the Letters the Prince wrote him, and  
 the Answers to them. Even at the jun-  
 cture of the Money Bargain in *France*,  
 which was so meritorious a piece of ser-  
 vice, that Mr. *Colbert* endeavour’d to get  
 the negotiating it out of Mr. *Louvois*’s  
 Hands, and sent a Friend of his to Mr.  
*Mountague*, to tell him, Mr. *Louvois* was not  
 in Earnest, and that if the Treaty was car-  
 ry’d with himself, the Money wou’d come  
 easier, he being to pay it. To the Pension  
 Mr. *Colbert* offer’d another temptation,  
 the marrying King *Charles*’s Niece, the  
 Dutches of *Orleans*’s Daughter to the  
 Dauphin. But our Court was more sol-  
 licitous for Ready Money, than for fu-  
 ture Prospects of Glory or Advantage.  
 The Second Letter produc’d in the House  
 of Commons against the E. of D. was a  
 Letter to Mr. *Mountague* from him, dated  
 the 25th of *March*, which is said to be  
 unfairly quoted in the History of *England*;  
 wherefore I shall take as much of it as re-  
 lates to my purpose, from his Lordships  
 own Copy. “ In case the Conditions of  
 “ Peace shall be excepted, the King ex-  
 “ pects to have Six Millions of Livres

" a Year, for Three Years; from the time  
 " that this Agreement shall be Sign'd,  
 " betwixt his Majesty and the King of  
 " *France*, because it will probably be  
 " Two or Three Years before the Parlia-  
 " ment will be in Humour to give him  
 " any Supplies after the making of any  
 " Peace with *France*, and the Ambassador  
 " here has always agreed to that Sum,  
 " but not for so long a time; and all  
 " possible care must be taken to have this  
 " whole Negotiation as private as is  
 " possible, for fear of giving Offence at  
 " Home. Where for the most part we  
 " hear in Ten Days after of any Thing  
 " that is communicated to the *French* Mi-  
 " nisters. I must again repeat to you,  
 " that whatever you write upon this Sub-  
 " ject to the Secretary (to whom you  
 " must not mention a Syllable of the  
 " Money) you must say only as a thing  
 " you believe they would consent to,  
 " if you had Power formally to make  
 " these Propositions: Pray inform your  
 " self to the bottom, of what is to be  
 " expected from *France*, and assure them,  
 " that you believe this will be the last  
 " time that you shall receive any Pro-  
 " positions of a Peace, if these be re-  
 " jected, (as indeed I believe it will) so  
 " that you may take your own Mea-  
 " sures as well as the King's upon it.  
 " *This Letter is written by Order, C. R.*  
 'Tis apparent that the very dangerous  
 Consequences of such a Commerce as this,  
 made it of absolute necessity to have such



a Warrant from the King. However, we have a Loyal Maxim in our Constitution, that the King can do no wrong; and if in Complacency to Interest, Ambition or Friendship, I do that which is unlawful or dishonourable; 'tis not a Justification to say I did it against my Opinion. If what is said in a Letter of the E. of D's. to the Prince, dated six Weeks before this, is more for his Lord's purpose, 'tis but Justice to let it appear at the same time. " I have Reason to believe " that the Proposition about giving *Char-*  
*lemont*, or some other Place for *Tournay* " will be accepted in *France*. And I have " not less reason to believe that the " making of the Peace upon that Pro- " position, wou'd be very fatal to the " Interest of the King-my Master, I con- " fess I cannot see but that the Conse- " quences must be ill to your Highness " also when the Confederacy shall be " thereby broken, and we perhaps " tied to such Conditions as may " leave us incapable of giving you " any assistance. Besides the Parliament " has now voted 26000 Foot, and 4000 " Horse and Dragoons, and 90 Sail of " Men of War, and I am confident " will not stop them, in case his Master " will go freely into the War, which yet " they all doubt, and not without Cause. " I will have no Reserve to your Highness " in this matter; and therefore you must " know that Mr. *Ruvigny* (who has been " here

“ here this Fortnight) goes on *Monday* to  
 “ the *French King* with this Proposition,  
 “ and designs to return hither with an  
 “ Answer the last of this Month (our  
 “ Stile) or the 1st or 2d of *March*, and  
 “ till that time expects the King will de-  
 “ clare nothing against him, &c. Again,  
 “ from what I have now inform’d your  
 “ Highness, and more that I must not  
 “ say, I hope your Highness will not con-  
 “ sent to any Alterations of the First  
 “ Propositions by my Lord *Faversham*;  
 “ you see how entirely I trust my self in  
 “ your Highness’s Hands, where I can  
 “ no more doubt of my own Safety than  
 “ I can of your Honour. The stress that  
 lies upon this, is the advising to keep to  
 my Lord *Faversham*’s Proposals, and as  
 his Lordship says, *If the Propositions for a  
 Peace, which were then sent were not accepted,  
 there should be no mention at all made of the  
 Money, that he did believe those Propositions  
 would be rejected, and that therefore Mr. M.  
 might take his own Measures.* Which I perceive  
 by his Lordship’s own Account of the mat-  
 ter *Mr. Mountague* did for these Proposals about  
 the Money were never made, and in-  
 stead of treating for it, he pursu’d the  
 Orders he receiv’d for getting Intelligence  
 in all the Parts of *France*, about their  
 Shipping, &c. in order to a War. This  
 happen’d but a few Months before *Mr.  
 Mountague* return’d to *England*, and with-  
 out the King’s leave; which ’tis probable  
 was done to secure himself a Seat in Par-  
 liament, and to prevent the Designs against  
 him.

him. For as his Lordship corresponded both with *France* and *Holland*, so did Mr. *Mountague* with Court and Country, and attributed to himself the Honour of putting a stop to the Payment of that Pension. This his Friends say was one of the main Reasons of his falling into the King's Displeasure, tho' his Lordship assures us 'twas for some Intelligence concerning him given the King by the *Swedish* Ambassador, Mr. *Olivecrans*, which 'tis likely related to his Correspondence, contrary to the Court Humor. And his constant adherence to the true Interest of his Country afterwards, as well at all times as at the Revolution, gives great Reason to believe he found he was in the wrong, and endeavour'd to retrieve the Mischief he was doing. His Friends to Corroborate this Surmise, have observ'd that what the E. of *D.* publish'd against him was not done till after he was dead, and could not reply; in the mean time on reading the two Letters, one from Mr. *M.* and one from the E. of *D.* before mention'd the House immediately resolv'd, That there was sufficient matter of Impeachment against *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*; and Articles of Impeachment were drawn up and agreed on, *Decemb. 21.*

I. That he hath Traiterously encroach'd to himself Regal Power, by Treating in matters of Peace and War with Foreign Princes and Ambassadors, and giving In-



Instructions to his Majesty's Ambassador Abroad, without Communicating the same to the Secretaries of State, and the rest of his Majesty's Council, &c.

II. That he hath Traiterously endeavoured to subvert the Ancient and well Establish'd Form of Government, and instead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyranical way of Government. And the better to effect this his Purpose, he did design the raising of an Army, under pretence of a War against the *French King*, and then to continue the same, as a Standing Army within this Kingdom, &c.

III. That he Traiterously intended to alienate the Hearts and Affections of his Majesty's good Subjects, from his Royal Person and Government, and to hinder the meeting of Parliaments, and to deprive his Majesty of their safe and wholesome Councils, &c.

IV. That he is Popishly affected, and hath Traiterously concealed after he had notice of the late horrid Plot, or Conspiracy, contriv'd by the Papists, against his Majesty's Person and Government, and hath suppress the Evidence, and reproachfully discountenanced the King's Witnesses in the discovery of it, in favour of Popery, &c.

V. That he hath wasted the King's Treasure, by Issuing out of his Majesty's Exchequer, and several Branches of his Revenue. divers great Sums of Money for unnecessary Pensions, and Secret Services, to the Value of 231602  $\frac{1}{2}$ . within two Years, &c.

VI. That

VI. That he hath by indirect means procured from his Majesty, for himself, divers considerable Gifts and Grants of Inheritance, of the Ancient Revenue of the Crown, even contrary to Acts of Parliaments.

These Articles were carry'd up to the Lords, with a desire that the said *Thomas Earl of Danby* might be sequestred from Parliament, and forthwith committed to safe Custody.

The Popish Lords had been Impeach'd before, and my Historian says, The King was so much disturb'd with these Proceedings, that he prorogu'd the Parliament *December* the 31st, and dissolv'd them the 24th of *January*. Thus ended, continues he, with Honour to themselves, the Long Parliament, which being first call'd, and begun the 8th of *May*, 1661, had been continu'd by several Prorogations and Adjournments, for Seventeen Years, Eight Months and Seventeen Days: Many Reflections were made on the Prime Reason of their Dissolution, some resolv'd it into the Kings Anger at the Commitment and Impeachment of his first Minister the Lord Treasurer; but Sir *William Temple* is positive, " That the Treasurer was before fallen into the King's Displeasure, " for bringing the Popish Plot into Parliament against the King's Absolute " Command; of which his Lordship gives this Relation himself, " As to the " concealment of the Popish Plot, I was so

“ far from concealing it, that the greatest  
 “ displeasure King *Charles* ever shew'd a-  
 “ gainst me, was bringing *Titus Oates's*  
 “ Informations before the Parliament, and  
 “ I find it written in some of *Sir William*  
 “ *Temples's* Memoirs, so he told me him-  
 “ self, that the King was very Angry  
 “ with me for it; and that although I did  
 “ not believe it, I should find I had  
 “ given the Parliament a handle to  
 “ ruin me as well as to disturb all his  
 “ Affairs, and that I wou'd live to re-  
 “ pent it. *He tells us in another place*, If  
 “ the King wou'd have permitted me to  
 “ have produc'd *Mr. Mountague's* Letters,  
 “ the Crime of endeavouring to get Money  
 “ from *France* (if it could be call'd a  
 “ Crime, under the Circumstances afore-  
 “ said) would have been laid to *Mr.*  
 “ *Mountague's* Charge, and not to me, as I  
 “ told the King, when he offer'd me his  
 “ Pardon; but was answer'd by his Ma-  
 “ jesty, That I ow'd him more Duty than  
 “ to expose his and his Ambassador's Let-  
 “ ters of private Negotiations, betwixt  
 “ him and the King of *France*, and he  
 “ was sure I would not be guilty of  
 “ such a Perfidious Baseness to him, as  
 “ *Mountague* had been ” and to ob-  
 viate some Objections that might be made  
 against his Lordship's not producing such  
 necessary Testimonials of his being passive  
 in this respect, he assures us, that he verily  
 believes the King was so apprehensive that the  
 producing those Letters wou'd have so much  
 heighten'd the ill Humour of that Parliament,  
 that



that the fear of producing them (which I must have done, rather than suffer the Bill of Attainder to pass against me,) was one of the Causes of Dissolving that Parliament. The Historian continues his Relation as follows.

That New Parliament met *March 6.* and on *March 20.* they Resolved, " That a  
" a Message be sent to the Lords, to put  
" them in mind of the Impeachment of  
" High Treason, Exhibited against *Thomas*  
" Earl of *Danby*, in the Names of the  
" Commons of *England*, and to desire that  
" he may be committed to safe Custody.  
" Resolving, That it be referred to the  
" Committee of Secrecy, to draw up  
" further Articles against him. " Two  
Days afterwards the King spoke to them,  
in favour of the Earl of *Danby*, in the House  
of Peers; but returning to their House,  
they Resolved, " That a Message be im-  
" mediately sent to the Lords, to remind  
" their Lordships of the last Message sent  
" them from this House, relating to *Tho-*  
" *mas* Earl of *Danby*, and to demand that  
" he might be forthwith sequestred from  
" Parliament, and Committed to Safe  
" Custody. " Upon which the Lords de-  
sired a present Conference with the Com-  
mons, where the Duke of *Monmouth* spoke  
thus. *I am commanded by the Lords to ac-*  
*quaint you, That their Lordships having taken*  
*into Consideration, Matters relating to the Earl*  
*of Danby, together with what his Majesty was*  
*pleased to say upon that Subject, have ordered*  
*that a Bill be brought in, by which Thomas Earl*  
*of Danby, may be made for ever incapable of*  
*coming*

*coming to his Majesty's Presence, and of all Offices and Employments, and of receiving any Grants or Gifts from the Crown, and of Sitting in the House of Peers. In the mean time, the Commons hearing the King had Sign'd a Pardon for the Earl, they appointed a Committee to repair to the Ld. Chancellor, to inquire into the manner of Suing forth that Pardon. The Lord Chancellor did inform the Committee, " That the Pardon*  
*" was pass'd with all Privacy, the King*  
*" Commanding him to bring the Seal to*  
*" Whitehal, and being there, he laid it up-*  
*" on the Table, whereupon his Majesty*  
*" Commanded the Seal to be taken out of*  
*" the Bag, which his Lordship was oblig'd*  
*" to submit to, it not being in his Power*  
*" to hinder it, and the King writ his Name*  
*" near the top of the Parchment, and then*  
*" directed to have it Sealed; whereupon*  
*" the Person that usually carried the Purse,*  
*" affixed the Seal to it. " Upon this Report from his Lordship, the Commons Resolved, " That an Humble Address be made*  
*" to his Majesty, to represent the irregu-*  
*" larity and illegality of the Pardon men-*  
*" tion'd by his Majesty, to be granted to*  
*" the Earl of Danby, and the dangerous*  
*" Consequence of granting Pardons to any*  
*" Persons that lye under an Impeachment*  
*" of the House of Commons. " On the 25th of March, 1679. the Lords sent a Message to acquaint the House of Commons, That they had sent to apprehend Thomas Earl of Danby, both to his House here in Town, and to his House at Wimbleton; and*  
*that*

that the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, had returned their Lordships Answer, That he could not be found; Whereupon the Commons ordered, "That a Bill be brought in to Summon Thomas Earl of Danby, to render himself to Justice by a certain Day, to be therein limited, or in default thereof, to Attaint him." Two Days afterwards, the Lords sent down a Bill, Entituled, *An Act for Banishing and Disabling Thomas Earl of Danby, &c.* But the Commons immediately Resolved, That the Bill be rejected, and on the First of April past a Bill for the Attainder of Thomas Earl of Danby, of High Treason, which they sent up to the Lords by Sir Robert Reyton. On the fourth of April, there was a Conference between the Two Houses, concerning the Bill sent up against Thomas Earl of Danby, where the Privy Seal, manag'd the Conference for his Lordship, and spoke to this Effect. That the Lords chose to deliver back by Conference, rather than Message, to preserve a good Understanding, and to prevent Debate or Controversy between them. The Lords observe, that the great Affairs of this Nation are at a stand, at a time of greatest Danger and Difficulty that ever this Kingdom laboured under. That the King hath always in his Reign, inclined to Mercy and Clemency to all his Subjects; therefore to a King so merciful and Compassionate, the first Interruption of his Clemency they did desire should not proceed from the Two Houses, pressing the King to an Act of the greatest Severity, therefore have passed the Bill with some Amendments, which



*which he deliver'd. The Commons disagreed to the Amendments made by the Lords, and drew up Reasons to be offer'd in some other Conference, importing, That their Lordship's Amendments had wholly alter'd the Nature of their Bill, and from a Bill of Attainder, had converted it into a Bill of Banishment: And at the same time, drew up an Address to be presented to his Majesty, to desire him to issue out his Royal Proclamation, for Apprehending the said Earl. They had the same Day another Conference with the Lords, upon the Earl of Danby's Case, where the Lord Huntington manag'd the Conference, and what he deliver'd, was to this Purpose. The Lords have desired this Conference with the Commons not so much to argue and dispute, as to mitigate and reconcile. They have already observ'd, that the Debate of this Bill hath given so long, and so great an Obstruction to Publick Business, and therefore they desire you to believe, that that is the Reason which hath chiefly prevail'd with their Lordships, in a Matter of this Nature. And upon this Ground it is, that if a way may be found, to satisfy and secure the Publick Fears, by growing less than the Bill you have proposed, the Lords do not think it adviseable to insist upon the utmost, and most Rigorous Satisfaction to prevent Justice, which might be denied. To induce you to this Compliance, the Lords do acknowledge, that Banishment is far from being the Legal Judgment, in Case of High Treason; that it is not the Legal Judgement in any Case whatsoever, since it can never be inflicted but by the Legislative Authority: But they see no Reason*

*Reason why the Legislative Authority should always be found to act to the utmost Extent of its Power ; for there may be a Prudential necessity sometimes of making Abatements, and it might be of fatal Consequence, if it should not be so. And the Lords to remove all jealousies of the Precedents of this kind, do Declare, That nothing which hath been done in the Earl of Danby's Case, shall be ever drawn into Example for the time to come, and will so Enter it upon their Journal. And thereupon their Lordships insist upon their Amendments, so far as to exclude all Attainders ; and do promise themselves the Commons will in this Point comply with their Lordships, who do again assure them, that their Resolutions are grounded only upon their Tenderneſs and Consideration of the Publick. April 12.*

There was another Conference on this Subject, upon which the Commons again Resolved to adhere to their Bill, and to disagree to the Amendments made by the Lords. At last the Bill of Attainder paſt both Houses, and Sir Edward Carteret, Usher of the Black Rod, on April 16. acquainted the House of Lords, That the Earl of Danby had the last Night rendred himself to him, and was in his Custody. The Historian gives this further Account of the Matter. " Their Lordships ordered him to be brought to the " Bar, where kneeling, and then standing " up, the Lord Chancellor let him know, " That he stands Impeached by the Commons ; and that upon his withdrawing " himself, a Bill of Attainder had passed " the Two Houses, by which however, he " had

“ had Time given him to come in, and  
 “ make his Defence.

“ The Earl of *Danby* excus'd his not ap-  
 “ appearing sooner, declar'd his Innocency,  
 “ and made several Petitions to the House,  
 “ and then was ordered to withdraw.  
 “ And being call'd in, and brought to the  
 “ Bar again, the Lord Chancellor acquaint-  
 “ ed him, that their Lordships will allow  
 “ him Time to give in his Answer to the  
 “ Articles of Impeachment, till the first  
 “ Day of the Sitting of the House after  
 “ *Easter*. That if any further Charge be  
 “ put in against him, he shall have further  
 “ Time to Answer ; That he shall have  
 “ Council assign'd him; and shall have  
 “ Liberty to make use of Records, and  
 “ that his Witnesses shall be Summoned.

Upon which he withdrew, and by Orders  
 of the House was Committed to the Tow-  
 er. The 25th of *April*, the Earl was brought  
 from the Tower, to the Bar of the House  
 of Lords, where he deliver'd in Writing  
 his Plea and Answer to the Articles of  
 Impeachment ; which being read, he with-  
 drew. The same Day the Lords sent a  
 Message to the Commons, to acquaint  
 them that the Earl of *Danby* had appear'd  
 in Person at the Bar of their House, and  
 put in his Plea, which they had sent down,  
 and desir'd it might be returned with  
 all convenient speed.

*April* the 28th, the Committee appoint-  
 ed to Examine and Peruse the Nature of  
 the Plea of *Thomas Earl of Danby*, made this  
 Report. 1. We find no Precedent, that ever

*any*



any Pardon was granted to any Person Impeached by the Commons of High Treason, or other High Crimes. 2. As to the manner of passing the Earl of Danby's Pardon, it hath been formerly reported to the House, and the Committee refer themselves to that Report. 3. That by what means it was obtained, the Time allowed the Committee hath been so short, that we cannot yet discover the Advisers or Promoters thereof any further than what is mention'd in the said Report, relating to the Lord Chancellor. Resolved, That a Message be sent to the Lords, to desire their Lordships to demand of the Earl of Danby, Whether he will rely upon, and abide by his Pardon? Accordingly the next Day, the Earl was again brought to the Bar of the Lord's House, where kneeling, and then standing up, the Lord Chancellor acquainted him, that the Commons had returned to their Lordships the Plea delivered by him at the Bar of their House, on the 25th Instant, with a desire that their Lordships would ask him, Whether he will rely upon, and abide by his said Plea. The Earl praying Time to answer their Lordships, allow'd him till Saturday next, and then he withdrew, and was Committed back to the Tower on the 5th of May.

My Author not having taken Notice of the Earl's Answer at the Time given him, I can only observe by what follows, that his Lordship seem'd to insist on his Pardon, as the quickest way to get clear of the Peril he was in. For the Commons Resolved, " That it was the Opinion of the " House, that the Pardon pleaded by the  
E. of

“ E. of *Danby*, was illegal and void, and ought  
 “ not to be allow’d in Bar of the Impeach-  
 “ ment of the Commons of *England*. And  
 Mr. Speaker with the House, went up to the  
 Lords Bar, and demanded Judgement a-  
 gainst the said Earl. And understanding  
 afterwards, that the Lords would admit  
 the Earl of *Danby* to have the Validity of  
 his Pardon pleaded at their Bar, they *Re-*  
*solved*, “ That no Commoner whatsoever  
 “ presume to maintain the Validity of the  
 “ Pardon pleaded by the Earl of *Danby*,  
 “ without the Leave of this House first  
 “ had; and that the Persons so doing, should  
 “ be accounted Betrayers of the Liberties  
 “ of the Commons of *England*. ” Thus his  
 Lordship continu’d in the *Tower*, till Hil-  
 lary Term 1683, when he made a Motion  
 for his Enlargement, and had the Case  
 argu’d by Learned Council, upon which  
 the Judges deliver’d their Opinions sever-  
 rally, the 12th of *February* giving their Rea-  
 sons, and concluding all in one Judgment,  
*That his Lordship ought to be Bail’d*, and ac-  
 cordingly Bail was taken, his Lordship  
 being Bound in a Recognizance of Twenty  
 Thousand Pounds, and the Dukes of *Som-*  
*erset* and *Albemarle*, and the Earls of  
*Oxford* and *Chesterfield* his Sureties, in Five  
 Thousand Pounds a piece, upon Condition  
 that the Earl of *Danby* do appear in the  
 House of Lords the next Session of Parlia-  
 ment, and not depart without Leave of  
 that Court. *This*, says my Author, was  
 to be a Precedent for the *Popish* Lords, &c.  
 The Lord Chief Justice and the other Judges  
 agreeing,

agreeing, That for the same Reasons they had given in the Earl of Danby's Case, these Lords ought likewise to be Bailed. And accordingly Recognizances and Sureties were accepted.

Such was the end of this Famous Prosecution: How Just, or how Groundless it was, I shall not presume to decide; and have remember'd these Facts only, as unquestionable Instances of the Hand we had our selves in the French King's late Exorbitant Power, which has cost us so much to reduce. It is therefore Madness to be apprehensive that King can ever again have any Influence on our Councils, or Part in our Friendship. The Example of this Noble Lord, in the worst of Times, is enough sure, to deter any Minister hereafter, from giving the least Encouragement to such base Offers from France. For if the being Passive in such a Clandestine Treaty, brought a Person into so much Peril of his Life and Fortune; if to acquiesce in a thing he had so great an Aversion to, was so Criminal, what must it be to deal with the French Court out of Choice, and any more to have any secret unwarrantable Commerce with them. It may be objected, That if his Lordship was so clear in this Matter, Why was he Pardon'd, why did he abscond? To which his own Answer is, *I do not wonder that my pleading a Pardon, and Absconding my self for some time, might justly make both Parliament and Nation, believe that I thought my self Guilty of some great Crime; but I did both in Obedience to the King's Commands.*

Q

We



We ought not to omit what Opinion his Lordship had of the *French Court* and *Ministers*, it agreeing so exactly with their present Character, and serving so well for a Lesson to all good *English Men*, that shall ever have any thing to do with them; 'tis in a Letter to the late Lord *Sunderland*, *I had always so bad an Opinion of that Court, that I will believe no Good can come from it. I doubt not but your Lordship must be of the same Opinion, by the Tricks and Evasions you meet with from them every Day.*

The *French* did not only practise upon our Court, to procure an advantageous Peace for them; they did the same in *Holland*, and tho' the Prince of *Orange* told Sir *William Temple*, he would hinder a Peace as long as he could. Yet many of their Principal Men pusht hard for it, and the Clamour ran high against prolonging the War; which Mr. *Mountague* gives us this Reason for. *The King of France is in very good Humour, upon the Assurances, I believe, he has of having such a Peace from the Dutch, as he desires; which has been manag'd underhand, by great Presents, to those that are not well Wishers to the Prince of Orange.* The Pensioner *Fagel* surpriz'd an Original Letter from Mr. *Louvois*, to Mr. *D' Estrades*, in which he bids Him tell those of his Correspondents in *Holland*, from whence the late Advices came, *That in case they gave him no better, he would certainly stop their Pensions.* Thus Sir *William Temple* writes to the Earl of *Danby*, in 1678.

There

There remains one thing in the Money Affair; and its Consequence, which proves the Dependance a Wise Man ought to have on Court Friendship. The E. of D — informs us, that from the time Mr. *Mountague* could not by his means obtain the Secretary's Office for 10000 Pounds, the Treasurer having given his Word to Sir *William Temple*, Mr. *Mountague* commenc'd his Enemy, and pursu'd the Method to his ruin, of which we have already spoken. Now this Mr. *Mountague*, is the same whom Sir *William Temple* writes of, in a Letter to his Father, three or four Years before that he had offer'd to lend Sir *William* Money to lay down for that very Place, when he could not come in without it, Six Thousand Pounds being then the Price, tho' now Ten Thousand could not carry it.

Tho' I cannot believe there's any Body so very Incredulous, or rather Stupid, as not to be fully satisfi'd of the several Engagements between King *James* and the French King; yet since there are so many who pretend we have been in the Wrong ever since the Revolution, that we have been Fighting for others, and not for our selves; That if we had let King *James* alone, he would have gone no further than he did; which indeed was far enough to Govern by his Pleasure, and an Army in Opposition to all our good Laws and Liberties: That he was an Heroick Prince, who aggrander'd this Nation by his Fleet, and Care of Trade; that he would never have stoop'd to France, had *Lewis XIV.* offer'd to have put

any Hardships upon him; and as some said in a certain Place not along ago, that he was a good *Exchequer King*. Whatever his Temper might have led him to, as to *France* in the latter, when the *Empire* and the *United Provinces* were over-run and destroy'd, it would not have been in his Power to have disputed the Sovereignty with the *French King*; and he would have been enough favour'd, had that Monarch been pleas'd to allow him an under Tyranny, with the empty Name of *King*, while He Reign'd as Absolute over *Britain*, as he does now over *Spain*. And this will ever be the Fate of *England*, if *French Councils*, and *French Princes* prevail here.

'Tis ridiculous to say we are in no danger of the *Pretender*. I defy any one to shew me in History, whether a Twelvemonth before the Restoration, there was any Probability of *King Charles's* Return to *England*. Did the Royalists then dare to write against the Principles of the then Usurp'd Government? Were the *Cavaliers* favour'd and employ'd? Were the Clergy of the High Strain humour'd and encourag'd? Was the Divine Right of Kings asserted, and Resistance in any Case made Damnable? Was the Test of Abjuration dispenc'd with? Did not *Monk*, but a few Months before he brought in that Monarch, speak in Parliament, that all *Cavaliers* and their Principles, should be discountenanc'd; and He and His Officers, with great Solemnity, renounce the Title of the *Royal House of Stuart*. Yet a Miraculous



culous Revolution happen'd without Bloodshed, in a very little while; and it was found that the most busie Republicans were in the Secret. True it is, we are in no Danger of the Pretender, while Her Majesty lives; She reigns so much in the Hearts of Her People, that he will hardly dare another rash Attempt against her, nor his Friends have the Boldness again to provoke her Justice. But that the most Serene House of *Hanover*, has as many Friends as Her Majesty, who is there so Sanguine as to imagine? Then what has been, may be as a Noble Lord told an August Assembly sometime since. Wherefore we ought all to joyn heartily against those Principles and Practices, which have the least tendency to favour the Pretender's Title and Interest. Such are all Insinuations, that King *James* had hard Measure, and that the Revolution was not worth so much as it cost: Thus it is with the Ungrateful. When the Bishops were sent to the *Tower*, an *Impostor Prince*, as the Addresses call him, impos'd on us; a Parliament packing to repeal our Laws against Popery. When Property was every where invaded, and Liberty made a Tool to bring in Slavery, then would these Protestants, who are now so Zealous for the Unalienable and Indefeazible Right of the Crown, who are so Frugal of their own, and the Publick Purse, have cry'd out *Take Half* for a Protestant King and Liberty. Such will be their Sentiments again, should they ever be try'd; but as we are entirely

safe, while Her Majesty's on the Throne, so may She long sit there with Glory; and when late she leaves it, to Reign in Heaven with her Royal Sister Queen *MARY*, and her Royal Predecessor Queen *ELIZABETH*; may the same Zeal that appear'd at the Revolution Flame out again for the Protestant Succession to the utter Confusion of the Pretender, his Friends and his *Abettors*. These and the like reflections occasion'd the writing of this Book, and therefore they cannot reasonably be term'd *Digressions*.

In pursuing the remaining part of this History, the League between King *James* and *Lewis XIV.* it cannot be expected that the Treaty it self should be produc'd. Those Arcana of Princes are seldom trusted to the Common Ministry, and never discover'd but by Surprise and Treachery. The Emissaries of *Rome* are too Faithful to their Cause to betray it, and the Packet is always flung over-board, when the Enemy is like to master the Boat. But there are so many plain Circumstances, and such Evidence, that it leaves no room to doubt, but that King *James* if he had stay'd wou'd have involv'd this Nation in a War in Conjunction with *France*, to destroy that Religion and Liberty we have ever since been Fighting to save. If we go so far back as *Coleman's* Letters to Sir *William Throgmorton*, the Duke of *York's* Agent at *Paris*, we shall find, that long before the Crown was upon his Head, that Prince had enter'd into the

strictest

strictest Engagements with the French King. In one of them, dated in February 1674, his Secretary tells his Agent, "For you know well, that when the Duke comes to be Master of our Affairs, the King of France will have Reason to promise himself all things he can desire. For according to the mind of the Duke, the Interest of the King of England, the King of France and his own are so close bound up together, that it is impossible to separate the one from the other, without Ruin to all Three; but being joyn'd, they must notwithstanding all opposition become invincible." A Celebrated Author in those Times, writes thus of these Letters, and this Passage in particular, *Those who knew nothing of the League between England and France, in the Year 1670, were extremely at a Loss what to make of these Words of Coleman, so express and precise, as nothing could be said more. But they who had seen the Extract of the League publish'd by the Abbot Primi easily concurr'd that they refer'd to the secret League of 1670, and that the reason why the English Court has been so industrious to maintain and cultivate the Union with France, was only in order to preserve those hidden Interests they judg'd inseparable, tho' the true interest of the State was indeed diametrically opposite to the entertaining any alliance with a Crown, all whose Designs were level'd at the Ruin of England and the Protestant Religion.*



We find much the same Stile in a Letter of Father *La Chaise*, the French King's Confessor, to the same *Coleman*. He says, the French King considers his own Interest, and the Interest of the Duke of York, as one and the same thing, and that if the Duke would undertake to dissolve the Parliament, the French King would assist him with his Power and Purse, to procure such an one afterwards as might be favourable to their Designs. Is not this sufficient to prove the strictest League in the World between the two Princes? Their Interests, their Power, their Purse are Mutual. And wou'd *Lewis XIV.* the greatest Politician upon Earth, write to a Prince that he wou'd give him his Price to dissolve one Parliament, and get another, if he did not know himself sure of him by the strongest Ties. I do not know what words can be found out more strong to form a League, than *My Interest shall be Yours, and yours Mine*; the Expressions of the Secretary of the One, and the Confessor of the Other. It may be objected, such is the Extravagance of Reasoning at this Time, that their Treaty, if any, was no more than what is common, and what's Lawful among Princes, to support their Authority. That the Duke's Succession was in Danger, and the French King was to do no more for him than the Dutch are to do for the House of *Hanover*, and we frightened our selves with groundless Fears of Popery and Slavery. Thus we wrongfully dismiss the Father, and then

then the Consequence is obvious. These are the Arguments our Pamphlets, and even our Pulpits use as openly as they dare; and forget what Coleman writes further of his Master the Duke of York's vast undertaking in concert with his Ally, the French King, who shou'd pay for his Work according to the Difficulty of it.

'Tis in a Letter to Father La Chaise. We have here a mighty Work upon our hands, no less than the Conversion of three Kingdoms, and by that perhaps the subduing of a Pestilent Heresie, which has domineer'd over a great part of the Northern World a long time; there were never such hopes of Success, since the Death of Queen Mary, as now in our Days, when God has given us a Prince, who is become (may I say to a Miracle) zealous of being the Author and Instrument of so Glorious a Work. Yet we have been warring out of Wantonness, and shall be mad if we continue the Frolick, We began it to rid our ves of this zealous Instrument of Popery, we continue it to prevent the Succession of one still more zealous. The States have engag'd to assist us against him with all their Power. And we to enable them to do it, to procure them such a Barrier as may put them out of any Fear of Interruption from France. Yet we get nothing by it all; nothing in our Rights and Properties, nothing in our Religion; which are all at the Mercy of France and the Pretender, if the Protestant Succession

on does not take effect, which none need question, while we have so good Laws, and so good Allies on our side. There were other Letters of *Coleman's* found with these that were publish'd. And other Agents for *France* and Popery in the *English* Court, which *Coleman* own'd when he was Examind. But all wherein the Court and Duke were particularly concern'd were suppress'd. Add to this that every Act of his Ministry and Government, was a plain Indication of his being entirely influenc'd by *French* Councils, and encourag'd by the hopes of formidable helps by *French* Power. The Legislative made several brave attempts to prevent the scandal of a Revolution by an Exclusion, convinc'd of that Prince's Intrigues with *France* for our Destruction, and will his Son have less Passion for the Principles of Religion, and Rule in which he has been bred, with an inveterate Resentment and hopes of Revenge of his pretended Father's hard usage, and his own in his.

The most foolish Objection that ever was made to this is, that King *James* sent an Ambassador to Pope *Innocent XI.* who was no Friend to *France*, upon which a late Historian says, *To see King James neglected in the Pontificate of Innocent XI. was not so strange, considering his Antipathy to a Faction, wherein that Prince was concern'd.* The Faction he means is the *French* against the *Austrian*, and then goes on thus,

“ *In.*



“ *Innocent* XI, receiv’d this Ambassi  
 “ as one that saw farther than those who  
 “ sent it; The Ambassiador had but a  
 “ gold Reception of the Holy Father,  
 “ and none of the Cardinals but those of  
 “ a particular Faction, and the good na-  
 “ tur’d Cardinal of *Norfolk*, took any fur-  
 “ ther notice of him than good Manners  
 “ oblig’d them. The Court of *Rome* were  
 “ too refin’d Politicians to be impos’d up-  
 “ on by noise and show, and knew the  
 “ the World too well to expect great  
 “ matters from such hasty ill tim’d Ad-  
 “ vances, as were made to them, not  
 “ only so, but *Innocent* having an Aver-  
 “ sion in his Nature to a Faction he  
 “ knew King *James* was imbark’d in,  
 “ which he never took pains to dissemble,  
 “ was not over fond of an Ambassi from  
 “ a Prince, who was in an Interest he  
 “ had long wish’d to see humbled. King  
 “ *James* met with nothing but Mortifica-  
 “ tions at *Rome*, in the Person of his Am-  
 “ bassador, which occasion’d his making  
 “ as short a stay as was possible.

It is very well known, that King *James*  
 was closely leagu’d with *France*, that not  
 contented with his own Friendship, he  
 endeavour’d to procure that of others for  
*Lewis* XIV. and sent a Person of high  
 Character, whom I shall not name, in-  
 to *Denmark*, to hinder that Crown from  
 joyning with the Protestant Princes, and  
 from quitting his Engagements with  
*France*.

As

As a further Proof of this close Alliance, we find in our publick Prints, that the *French* Protestants were not secure from the Power of their Monarch in *England*; for the Historian tells us, in the Compleat History, that

“ The *French* King pursu’d the Protestant Refugees into *England*, and by  
 “ his Ambassador in our Court, restrain’d  
 “ them from Complaining of the Hard-  
 “ ships they had suffer’d. So that here  
 “ in their Place of Refuge, they were to  
 “ undergo another grievous Persecution;  
 “ which was to be afflicted without da-  
 “ ring to bemoan themselves. An In-  
 “ stance of this new Mortification to  
 “ them, is thus related by Authority.  
 “ Whitehall, May 8. 1686. The *French*  
 “ Ambassador having by a Memorial complain’d  
 “ to his Majesty, that a Book intituled [*Les*  
 “ *Plaintes, des Protestants Cruellement*  
 “ *Opprimes dans le Rayame, de Fru-*  
 “ *nce*] was sold and dispers’d in this King-  
 “ dom, in which Book are many Falsities,  
 “ and Scandalous Reflections upon the most Chri-  
 “ stian King: And that the said Book was  
 “ likewise Translated into English, and print-  
 “ ed here; His Majesty was pleased to order,  
 “ that diligent enquiry should be made  
 “ after the Translator and Printer of the  
 “ same, that they may be prosecuted accord-  
 “ ing to Law. And that a printed Copy of  
 “ the said Book in French, and another in  
 “ English, should be publickly burnt by the  
 “ Hands of the Common Hangman, which was  
 “ accord-

“ accordingly put in Execution on Wednesday  
“ last, before the Royal Exchange; something like this happen’d in the Case of *Matthew Gilliflower* a Bookseller, in *Westminster-Hall*, who having printed a Translation of a Book, publish’d at *Vienna*, containing an Account of the Correspondence between the *French* Court and the *Hungarian* Rebels, was order’d to be prosecuted for it at the Instance of the *French* Ambassador here, and had he not apply’d to the Imperial Minister, who attested the Fact to be true, and promis’d him his utmost Protection, King *James’s* Severity to that Honest Man, wou’d probably have been another confirmation of his Inviolable Friendship to *Lewis XIV.* The States of the United Provinces, who know their Interest, and pursue it the best of any in *Europe*, saw plainly what a Union there was between the Kings of *England* and *France*, and it was that doubtless which instigated them to give the Prince of *Orange* such Assistance for our Deliverance, and the resorting of all *English* Malecontents to *Holland*, gave King *James* just Reason to expect a Storm thence one time or another.

These mutual Jealousies between the King and the States of *Holland*, had another Foundation in them. The King was apparently in the Interest and Counsels of *France*, which the States had Reason to hate and oppose; a late Author has deliver’d this good Account of the  
Friendship



Friendship between those Two Crowns.  
 " While King *James* was thus pusht on by  
 " a Headstrong Party, to enslave his Sub-  
 " jects, the other Princes and States of  
 " *Europe*, lookt on with quite different  
 " Sentiments, according as their own  
 " Interest and Safety mov'd them. The  
 " greater Part did commiserate the Fate  
 " of these *Three Kingdoms*, and wish'd for  
 " their Deliverance. The Protestants saw  
 " with Regret, that themselves were  
 " within an immediate Prospect of losing  
 " the most considerable Support of their  
 " Religion; and both *They* and the *Roman*  
 " *Catholicks*, were equally convinc'd, that  
 " it was their Common Interest to have  
 " *England* continue in a Condition to be  
 " Arbiter of *Christendom*; especially at a  
 " time when they most needed it. On  
 " the other Hand, it was the Interest of  
 " another Prince, that not only the  
 " King of *England* should be his Friend,  
 " but that the Kingdom of *England* should  
 " become inconsiderable Abroad, which it  
 " could not fail to be, when Enslav'd at  
 " Home.

" King *James* had been again and again  
 " solicited, not only by Protestant Princes,  
 " but those of his own Religion, to enter  
 " into other Measures for the Common  
 " Safety of *Europe*; at least not to contri-  
 " bute to its Ruin, by espousing an Inte-  
 " rest which they judg'd was opposite  
 " to it. The Emperor, among others, had  
 " by his Ambassador, made repeated In-  
 " stances

“ stances to him to this Purpose, but with  
 “ no better Success than the rest, as ap-  
 “ pears by a Letter he wrote to him after  
 “ his Abdication, which has been Printed  
 “ in several Languages. But all these  
 “ Remonstrances had no weight with King  
 “ James, tho’ they had this good Effect  
 “ in the end, as to put those Princes and  
 “ States upon such Measures, as secur’d  
 “ to them the Friendship of *England* in  
 “ another way.

“ The Power of *France* was by this time  
 “ become the Terror and Envy of *Europe*,  
 “ and that Crown had upon all sides  
 “ extended its Conquests. The *Empire*,  
 “ *Spain* and *Holland*, seem’d to enjoy a  
 “ Precarious Peace, while the Common  
 “ Enemy of the *Christian Name*, was ma-  
 “ king War with the Emperor and the  
 “ State of *Venice*; and was once very near  
 “ being Master of the Imperial Seat,  
 “ whereby he might have carry’d the  
 “ War into the Bowels of *Germany*. The  
 “ main Strength of the *Empire* being  
 “ turn’d against the *Turks*, and that with  
 “ various Success there was another War  
 “ declar’d against the Emperor by *France*;  
 “ so that it became absolutely necessary  
 “ for *Spain* and *Holland*, to interpose not  
 “ as Mediators, for that they were not  
 “ to hope for, but as Allies and Partners  
 “ in the War. These last, as well as the  
 “ other Princes and States that lay near  
 “ est the *Rhine*, were expos’d to the Mercy  
 “ of a Prince whom they were not able to  
 “ resist,

“ resist, if *England* should look on as  
 “ Neuter, or take Part against them;  
 “ the last of which, they had reason to  
 “ fear.” It was certainly the just Apprehensions of the rest of *Europe*, of King *James*’s Private League with *France*, which occasioned the Treaty of *Augsburgh*, and the first Confederacy against *Lewis XIV.* And the Concern of that Monarch for King *James*’s Interests, prov’d what *Coleman* said, That they were his own. The King of *England*’s Councillors were so dull, or so false, that they took no Notice of the *Dutch* Armament by Sea, till they had Intelligence of it from *France*.

Count D’*Avaux*, the *French* Ambassador in *Holland*, discover’d from many convincing Circumstances, that their Preparations were intended against *England*, and gave Information of it to his Master, from whom King *James* had the first certain and positive Intelligence. The *French* King thought he could not meet with a fairer Opportunity, to engage King *James* in an Offensive and Defensive League, than the present dangerous Condition of his Affairs, and immediately dispatch’d Monsieur *Bonrepos* to offer him 30000 Men, which Offer the Earl of *Sunderland*, by his great Dexterity in the management of Critical Affairs, got to be rejected; my Historian assuring us, the Popish Cabal were for receiving it. He further informs us, “ That the King  
 “ of *France* seem’d impatient, that his  
 “ Brother of *England* would not accept his  
 Assistance



“ Assistance nor Advice. But still to shew  
 “ his Hearty Concern for him, he com-  
 “ manded his Ambassador the Count  
 “ D’ *Avaux*, to deliver a Memorial to  
 “ the States, which he did on the Ninth  
 “ of September, 1688. to this Effect. That  
 many Circumstances inclin’d the King his Master  
 with Reason to believe, that their Preparations  
 threaten’d England; therefore his Majesty had  
 commanded him to declare to them, that the  
 Ties of Friendship and Alliance, between him  
 and the King of Great Britain, would oblige  
 him not only to assist him, but also to look on the  
 first Act of Hostility that should be Committed  
 by their Troops or their Fleet, against his Ma-  
 jesty of Great Britain, to be a manifest Rupture  
 of the Peace with his Crown.

The States General return’d no Answer to  
 this French Memorial, but charg’d the  
*Heer Van Citters* to complain of it to the  
 Court of England. Upon which a Council  
 was held, and it was Resolv’d to disown  
 the Proceedings of the Count D’ *Avaux*.  
 “ After all these Discouragements, says  
 “ my Author, Monsieur *Barillon*, the French  
 Ambassador, made another Proposal to the  
 English Court, That France should abandon  
 the Design of besieging *Philipsburg* and carry  
 the War into *Holland*. Four or five of the  
 Council highly approv’d the Overture, but  
 others warmly oppos’d it, alledging, That  
 such a Violation of former Treaties with  
*Holland*, would be sufficient to raise the  
 Clamours of the whole Nation, and to  
 alienate the Minds of the English Pro-  
 R. testants

testants from his Majesty. It was this Treacherous Council in some of King James's Ministers, that sav'd England, and if ever Treachery was a Virtue, it was in those that acted it at that time. I verily believe there's not a Man in England, who rails at any one of them as a Traytor to King James, but 'tis out of Hate to the Treason; and how far double dealing is justifiable, when All is at Stake for the Safety of that All, the Casuists are to inform us. For my part, I can never think ill of the Man to whose Wisdom and Vigilance the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of England, are in so great a measure owing. Nothing can be said more plain and express, than what the Count D' Avenar says in his Memorial to the States, of which mention is made. Yet about a Month after, came the English Ambassador, lagging with another Memorial, which gave the Lye to the French Minister. But which of the Two knew most of the matter, let any one judge; whether the Count D' Avenar, one of the ablest Ministers in France, or the Marquis D' Albyville, a Person that had never been heard of, but on this miserable Occasion.

And because there had been a confident Report, That there was a Secret League between the Kings of England and France, in prejudice to the Interest of Holland and the common Liberty of Europe; Therefore on October 6. 1688.

N. S.

N. S. The Marquess D'Albyville, (Envoy Extraordinary from his Majesty) had a Conference with Eight Deputies of the States General, and deliver'd them the following Memorial.

" The underscritten Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Great Britain has receiv'd order to represent to your Lordships, that although his Majesty had believ'd what he had already declar'd to your Ambassador in England; and the Orders he had given to his said Envoy Extraordinary, upon the same Subject, might have satisfy'd your Lordships, that there is no other Treaty between his Majesty and the most Christian King, than those that are Publick and in Print; yet since a great deal of Artifice and Industry has been made use of, to make the World believe, that the King his Master is enter'd into other Treaties and Alliances with the most Christian King: His Majesty to shew the great regard he has to the Friendship and Alliances, which are between him and your Lordships, and his desire to continue the same, has commanded the said Envoy Extraordinary in his Name, to assure your Lordships, that there is no other Treaty between his Majesty and the most Christian King, than those that are publick and in Print. And farther, that as his Majesty extream-



“ly desires the Preservation of the Peace  
 “and Repose of Christendom, so he will  
 “also be glad to take such measures  
 “with your Lordships as may be most  
 “convenient for maintaining the Peace  
 “of *Nimeguen*, and the Truce of Twenty  
 “Years concluded in 1684.

Given at the Hague, M. D. *Albyville*.  
 October, 5. 1688.

*My Author observes, This Memorial was then suspected to be a Blind, at a juncture when every thing was thought lawful to gain a Point. There was afterwards publish'd, An Account of the Private League, betwixt the late King James II. and the French King, In a Letter from a Gentleman in London, to a Gentleman in the Country; which is refer'd to by the Author of the Compleat History of England, and the remaining Part of this Treatise is taken from thence.*

It pleasur'd the World with a fit of Laughter, to see *Albyville's* Memorial so contrary to that of the French Ambassador, notwithstanding he was very well acquainted with the Contents of the Memorial presented before by the Count *D'Avaux*. But for all that, both the Marquis *de Albyville*, and those who had dictated the French Memorial, spake nothing but the Truth. The Marquis maintains, in the Name of the King, that there was no Treaty between England and

and *France*, but those that are in Print; the Count *de Avaux* asserts, that *Lewis* the Fourteenth is engag'd in an Alliance with *James* the Second, and both of them speak true. The Count *de Avaux* speaks with respect to the Treaty of 1670. betwixt *Charles* the Second and *Lewis* the Fourteenth, and supposes, as indeed it cannot be doubted, that the said Treaty has continu'd ever since, with design to destroy *England* and the Protestant Religion, which at first gave birth to that League. He builds upon this Principle, That the Duke of *York*, who was the great promoter of it, and who, whilst in that station, acted in conformity to the said Secret Treaty, had sufficiently ratify'd the same since his coming to the Crown; which Promotion of his was therefore so passionately desir'd, to the end he might more vigorously execute the Treaty, which *Charles* the Second did not, for fear of troubling his own Repose.

The Marquis *de Albyville*, knowing that this Treaty had been printed at *Paris* 1682. in the History of the War of *Holland* by the *Abbot Primi*, but soon after suppress'd at the Instances of my Lord *Preston*, suppos'd he might say with a good Conscience, with respect to the same Treaty, That his Master had no Treaty with *France* but what was in Print. So that the seeming Contradiction vanishes, as soon as we consider the Persons that

Speak: The one is the Minister of *Louis XIV.* who is not at all careful to husband the Interests of his Allies, and who thinks he may speak whatever pleases him, as he thinks he can compass whatever he wills, and accordingly declares the Truth with a great deal of frankness: The other is the Minister of *James II.* whom the Society of the Jesuits and their Maxims have model'd for disguising the Truth; and therefore dares not expose it, but under covert of an Equivocation; whereby, if he owns what is true, he reserves to himself always the Means, and the Right of denying it, when the owning of it might prove a Prejudice to him.

But not to make any further enlargement here upon the Jesuitical Character, of which the *Marquis de Albyville* had a competent share, without which Qualification he would scarcely have been made choice of for an Extraordinary Envoy: For my part, I cannot see how any thing could more evidently confirm the Truth, than the Memorial of the Count de *Avaux*, wherein he positively declares, that there was an Alliance between *Louis XIV.* and *James II.* And I cannot see, what the most resolv'd Prejudice can object against this Proof, besides these three things which are equally ridiculous.

The first is, That King *James II.* is not bound to make good the Words of a French Ambassador, spoken at random.



247. Then the Reason why the *English* Ambassador did not more punctually contradict the *French* Memorial, proves only at most, That he was willing enough to see the *Hollanders* affrighted with the apprehension of this Secret Alliance between both those Kings; tho' he did not think fitting to confirm the belief of that League, by the Memorial he presented to the States General, the 5th of *October*; whence it follows, That it may be there was no such League at all notwithstanding the *French* Ambassador thought necessary to advance such a thing contrary to Truth; or to say noisily.

The third is, That if the *Marquis de Albionville* were guilty of some Fault on this Occasion, it is not just to lay the blame of it upon his Master; and the rather, because he was never look'd upon as a very refin'd Minister; so not in answer to these; it is intended.

Fourth, The World knows, that the Memorial of the *French* Ambassador, was contriv'd & drawn up with the concurrence of *Mr. Skelton*, the Ambassador of *James II.* Wherefore we cannot pretend that this Declaration was made by the *French* King, without the knowledge of the King of *England*. And tho' *Mr. Skelton*, upon his return from *France*, was committed to the *Tower* for having had a hand in that Memorial, yet we know this was only a Pretent, being set at liberty a few days after, made Colonel of a Regiment,

and not long after returning thither, not as a Prisoner, but to be the Governor of it: All which makes it as clear as the Sun, that this was only a feign'd Imprisonment, and not the Punishment of an unfaithful discharge of a Trust.

2dly, I can no way conceive how any can imagine that the *French King* should take the liberty peremptorily to assert an Alliance, when there was nothing at all of it, only because he thought it was his Interest so to do; and that at the same time it was not permitted to *James II.* to dissemble, in a Case where such a Dissimulation was of use to him. But I go further, and say, That to discover the Mystery of the affected dissimulation of the *English Ambassador* about the League with *France*, we need only examine the Behaviour of *James II.* after that Declaration of the *French Ambassador* to the States-General. If the Count *D'Avaux*, or the King his Master, had advanc'd an Untruth, in declaring that there was an Alliance between *Louis XIV.* and *James II.* which could not be without an infraction of the Treaty of *Nimwegen*, of which the King of *England* was declar'd Guarantee; was it not absolutely necessary for King *James* to disavow that Untruth, as soon as he was inform'd what had pass'd at the *Hague*? Ought he not to have made reparation of the Fault the *Marquis de Alberville* had committed, by ordering him to explain himself fully about the false

Supposal

Supposal of the *French* Ambassador? Was it not visible, that his Honour was extremely concern'd in the Declaration of *France*; and that it was contrary to his Word given to the States-General, after his arrival to the Crown, and which he had so often since renew'd to their Ambassador in Ordinary? Was it not natural for him to express himself plainly, instead of suppressing the Fact, as it was done in the *English Gazette*, publish'd by Authority of the Court, and review'd by his Ministers; where we find indeed the Memorial of the Marquis de *Albyville*, given into the States the 3<sup>th</sup> of *October*, but not a word of the Memorial the Count *D'Armen* presented before? Who sees not that this his Silence, after the Declaration of the *French* Ambassador, is an evident and solid Conviction of the Truth of the League between him and *France*? This is made unquestionable by the Design he had of delivering *Portsmouth* to the *French*, and suffering several of their Regiments to take possession of it; which Affair took up much of the time of the Secret Council in *October* and *November* 1687. The thing was not so secretly carry'd, but that the different Advices given about it came to the knowledge of some, as well as the Names of the Authors of them, and the Reasons which hinder'd the King from following them in that Circumstance. The hopes he had of getting a Parliament to



to his mind, that is, such an one as might overthrow the Laws of the Government; that was opposite to Popery and Tyranny; were the chief Reason, as it well known to many Persons of Quality, that hinder'd him from taking a Resolution to make us feel the Effects of that League, before it was declar'd in publick.

And to Crown all these Circumstantial Evidences, did not his sending away his Pretended Son and his Queen, and at last his own flying thither, renouncing the Government of *England*, on any other Terms than would enable him to execute his Clandestine Treaties with *France*, demonstrate that they were more than Guesses, and require no stronger Proofs to Reasonable Men and Protestants.

To Conclude, If it may be askt what's all this History to us, especially the last? Are we in any Danger of a Secret Treaty with *France*? To this I answer, and to the last Objection first. We cannot be in any Danger from HER MAJESTY, of any thing contrary to our Good and Safety: Her bold and early Concern for us at the Revolution, in which She was pleas'd to have a share; Her readiness in all Her Glorious Reign, to do whatever Her Subjects desir'd of Her, and even to prevent their Desires, are Arguments with all Loyal Men, that as we can have no greater Blessing than such a Sovereign, so we

we can have no greater Loss than to lose Her. And when we have no more Her Piety, Her Goodness and Her Care to Protect us, if we should be so Wicked as to Countenance those Principles which made the *Revolution* necessary, and would perhaps then make another, we may in vain hope for another Deliverer, having so ill deserv'd of the last. Wherefore we cannot enough expose those Doctrines, those Men and those Practices, which brought us once so near the Brink of Ruin, that without the immediate help of Providence, it had been inevitable. All our Miseries have arisen from our Friendships with *France*, who is, and ever will be our Mortal Enemy, and as such we ought to detest every one, that shews any Inclination to favour her Interest, or the Maxims by which she Governs.

I have very good Reasons why I have not explain'd my self further, in several Parts of this Treatise, and so good an Opinion of my Readers, that I cannot think they will need any Light, in Matters that are of so General Concern.

FINIS.

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